

The
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,
By

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART

In Two Volumes

NEW EDITION.



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THE Author was invited to undertake this general Sketch of Scottish History in connection with a similar abridgment of English History by Sir James Mackintosh, and a History of Ireland by Thomas Moore, Esquire. There are few literary persons who would not have been willing to incur much labour and risk of reputation for the privilege of publishing in such society. On the present occasion, the task, though perhaps still a rash one, was rendered more easy by the Author having so lately been employed on the volumes called *Tales of a Grandfather*, transferred from the history of Scotland for the benefit of a young relation. Yet the object and tenour of these two works are extremely different. In the *Tales* taken from Scottish history, the author, throwing into the shade, or rather omitting all that could embarrass the understanding or tire the attention of his juvenile reader, was desirous only to lay before him what was best adapted to interest his imagination, and, confining himself to facts, to postpone to a later period an investigation of the principles, out of which those facts arose.

It is hoped, on the contrary, that the present history may, in some degree, supply to the reader of more advanced age truths with which he ought to be acquainted, not merely as relating to one small kingdom, but as forming a chapter in the general history of man. The object of the two works being so different, their

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. — CALEDONIANS, PICTS, AND
SCOTS. — KENNETH MACALPINE.

The history of Scotland, though that of a country too poor and too thinly peopled to rank among the higher powers of Europe, has, nevertheless, attracted the attention of the world, even in preference to the chronicles of more powerful and opulent states. This may be justly ascribed to the extreme valour and firmness with which in ancient times the inhabitants defended their independence against the most formidable odds, as well as to the relation which its events bear to the history of England, of which kingdom having been long the hereditary and inveterate foe, North Britain is now become an integral and inseparable part by the treaty of union. Our limits oblige us to treat this interesting subject more concisely than we could wish; and we are of course under the necessity of rejecting many details which engage the attention and fascinate the imagination. We will endeavour, notwithstanding, to leave nothing untold which may be necessary to trace a clear idea of the general course of events.

The history of every modern European nation must commence with the decay of the Roman empire. From the dissolution of that immense leviathan almost innumerable states took their rise, as the decay of animal matter only changes the form, without diminishing the sum, of animal life. The ambition of that extraordinary people was to stretch the authority of Rome, whether under the republic or empire, over the whole world; and even while their own constitution struggled under the influence of a rapid decline, the rage with which they laboured to reduce to their yoke those who yet remained unconquered of their unhappy neighbours, was manifested on the most distant points of their enormous territory. Julius Cæsar had commenced the conquest of Britain, whose insular situation, girdled by a tempestuous ocean, was no protection against Roman ambition. It was in the year B. C. 55 that the renowned conqueror made his descent; and the southern Britons were completely subjected to the yoke of Rome, and reduced to the condition of colonists, in the year of grace 80, by the victorious arms of Agricola.

This intelligent chief discovered, what had been before suspected, that the fine country the southern part of which he had thus conquered was an island, whose northern extremity, rough with mountains, woods, and inaccessible morasses, and peopled by tribes of barbarians who chiefly subsisted by the chase, was washed by the northern ocean. To hear of a free people in his neighbourhood, and to take steps for their instant subjugation, was the principle on which every Roman general acted; and it was powerfully felt by Julius Agricola, father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, who at this time commanded in South Britain. But many a fair and fertile region, of much more considerable extent, had the victors of the world subdued with far more speed and less loss than this rugged portion of the north was to cost them. It was in the year 80 when Agricola set out from Manchester, then called Mancunium; and that and the next season of 81 were spent in subduing the tribes of

the southern parts of what is now termed Scotland, and in forcing such natives as resisted across the estuaries of the Forth and the Clyde, driving them as it were into another island. It was not till 83 that the invaders could venture across the firth of Forth, and engage themselves among the marshes, lakes, and forests near Lochleven. Here Agricola, having divided his troops into three bodies, one of them, consisting of the ninth legion, was so suddenly attacked by the natives at a place called Loch Ore, that the Romans suffered much loss, and were only rescued by a forced march of Agricola to their support. In the summer of 84 Agricola passed northwards, having now reached the country of the Caledonians, or Men of the Woods, a fierce nation, or rather a confederacy of clans, towards whose country all such southern tribes and individuals as preferred death to servitude had retired before the progress of the invaders. The Caledonians and their allies, commanded by a chief whom the Romans called Galgacus, faced the invaders bravely, and fought them manfully at a spot on the southern side of the Grampian hills, but antiquaries are not agreed upon the precise field of action. The Romans gained the battle, but with so much loss, that Agricola was compelled to postpone further operations by land, and he retreated to make sure of the territories he had overrun. The fleet sailed round the north of Scotland, and Agricola's campaigns terminated with this voyage of discovery. There was no prosecution of the war against the Caledonians after the departure of Agricola in 85. Much was however done for securing at least the southern part of that general's conquests; and it was then, doubtless, that were planned and executed those numerous forts, those extensive roads, those commanding stations, which astonish the antiquary to this day, when, reflecting how poor the country is even now, he considers how intense must have been the love of power, how excessive the national pride, which could induce the Romans to secure at an expense of so much labour these wild districts of mountain, moor, thicket, and marsh.

Nor, after all, were these conquests secured. The emperor Adrian, in 120, was contented virtually to admit this fact by constructing an external line of defence against the fierce Caledonians, in form of a strong wall, reaching across the island from the Tyne to the Solway, far within the boundary of Agricola's conquest. It is at the same time to be supposed, that the Romans of the second century retained in a great measure the military possession of the country beyond this first wall, as far, perhaps, as the firths of Clyde and Forth; while, on the further side of these estuaries, it seems probable they did not exercise a regular or permanent authority. But in the reign of Antonine another and more northern boundary wall was extended across the island, reaching from Carriden, close to Linlithgow on the firth of Forth, to the firth of Clyde. This ultimate bulwark served to protect the country betwixt the estuaries, while the regions beyond them were virtually resigned to their native and independent proprietors. Thus the Romans had two walls; the more northern, an exterior defence, assisted by military communications and defences, to receive a first attack; and the more southern, an internal boundary, to retreat upon, if necessary. The existence of a double line of defence seems to argue that this powerful people did not hold any permanent possessions beyond the more northern boundary about the year 140, when the second and more advanced rampart was completed. No doubt, however, can be entertained, even if the fact were not proved by roads and military stations, that the Romans restrained and overawed, if they could not absolutely subject, the considerable provinces overrun by Agricola in Rife and the western districts beyond the wall of Antonine. Carnelodunum, or Ca-melon, a large and strong town, was placed near Falkirk for the support of the wall at its eastern extremity, and many Roman forts are found so disposed as to block up the passes from the Highlands. The existence and position of military roads and forts or camps also shows the care

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again in 398, Roman succours were sent to Britain, and repressed successfully the fury of the barbarians. In 422 a legion was again sent to support the colonists; but, tired of the task of protecting them, the Romans, in 446, ostentatiously restored the Southern Britons to freedom, and exhorting them henceforth to look to their own defence, evacuated Britain for ever. The boast that Scotland's more remote regions were never conquered by the Romans is not a vain one; for the army of Severus invaded Caledonia, without subduing it, and even his extreme career stopped on the southern side of the Moray firth, and left the northern and western Highlands unassailed.

In the fifth century there appear in North Britain two powerful and distinct tribes, who are not before named in history. These were the Picts and Scots.

I. The name of the former people has caused much,

but seemingly unnecessary, speculation. The Picts seem to have been that race of free Britons beyond the Roman wall who retained the habit of staining the body when going into battle, and were called by the Romans and Roman colonists the Painted Men, a name which, at first applied to particular tribes, superseded at last the former national name of Caledonians. These people inhabited the eastern shores of Scotland, as far south as the firth of Forth, and as far north as the island extended. Claudian proves that these natives actually followed the custom of painting their bodies, as implied by the expression *nec falso nomine Pictos*,—"nor falsely termed the Picts." There can be little doubt that, though descendants of the ancient British Caledonians, and therefore Celts by origin, the Picts were mingled with settlers from the north, of Gothic name, descent, and language. The erratic habits of the Scandinavians render this highly probable.

II. The Scots, on the other hand, were of Irish origin; for, to the great confusion of ancient history, the inhabitants of Ireland, those at least of the conquering and predominating caste, were called Scots. A colony of these Irish Scots, distinguished by the name of Dalriads or Dal-reudini, natives of Ulster, had early attempted a settle-

The Saxons were of Gothic descent, and to courage equal to that of the North Briton tribes they added better arms and a formidable discipline. They drove back both Scots and Picts within their own limits, and even made

about two years after the Romans had left the island. The provincial Britons called in the Saxons to their aid, seated in every quarter, and reduced to absolute despair, turning the extremities of it with naval expeditions. Per- land by the barbarians, or the barrier was surrounded by no longer defended by Romans; it was stormed from the Scots and Picts rushed against the Roman bulwark, when from its birth fed and supplied by the hand of man. The cated bird or animal to shift for itself, after having been hom, were as cruel as it would be to dismiss a domesti- having, by abandoning the island, restored them to free- to stand to their own defence, and their affection of totally defenceless. Their parting exhortation to them The retreat of the Romans left the British provincialists now called Scotland.

two fierce races inhabited the greater part of the country who were at once their masters and protectors, and these Rome had colonised were exposed by the retreat of those Such were the nations to which the Britons whom from its influence.

insinuating into men's hearts the blessings inseparable mustard seed, grew and flourished in noiseless increase, brutalising practices; and the Gospel, like the grain of of idolatrous ceremonies took away many bloody and parate the human from the brute species. The abolition sequences of an union which tends most directly to se- the brutalising evils of polygamy gave place to the con- law of marriage was established amongst them, and all which rest the dignity and happiness of social life. The in barbarism, failed not to introduce those institutions on did not at first change the manners of nations waxed old task of enlightening these savages. Religion, though it (Christianity, undertook and succeeded in the perilous this world were as nothing, so they could call souls to was justly bestowed, to whom life and the pleasures of

Saxons retained possession of these five provinces under several kings, and especially under Edwin, who founded near the shores of the Forth the castle called from his name Eadwinsturgh, now Edinburgh, the capital of the Scottish kingdom; this was posterior to 617. In 685 a check was given to the encroachment of the Saxons by the slaughter and defeat of their king Egfrid at the battle of Drumnechtan, probably Dumnichen; and the district south of the Forth was repeatedly the scene of severe battles between the Picts and Northumbrians, the latter striving to hold, the former to regain, these fertile provinces.

A much more important struggle than that between the Saxons and Picts was maintained between the latter nation and the Scoto-Irish inhabiting, as we have seen, the western, as the Picts held the eastern side of the island. It was, indeed, evident that until these two large portions of North Britain should be united under one government, the security of the country against foreign invaders was not to be relied on. After many desperate battles, much effusion of blood, and a merciless devastation of both countries, some measures seem to have been taken for settling a lasting peace between these contending nations. Urgania, sister of Ungus, king of the Picts, was married to Aycha IV. king of Scots, and their son Alpine, succeeding his father as king of Scots, flourished from 833 to 836, in which last year he was slain, urging some contests in Galloway. The Pictish throne, being thrown open for want of an heir male, was claimed by Kenneth, son and successor of Alpine, who, as descended of Urgania, the sister of Ungus, urged his right of inheritance with an army. Wrad, the last of the Pictish monarchs, died at Forreviot, in 842, fighting in defence of his capital and kingdom, and the Pictish people were subdued. Tradition and ancient history combine in representing Kenneth, when victorious, as extirpating the whole race of Picts, which we must consider as an exaggeration. More modern authors, shocked at the improbability of such an incident, have softened it down by supposing that on the death of Wrad, Ken-

their reigns display the same scenes of blood and slaughter, with the same unsatisfactory result, which disgust us in the annals of the period. Constantine the third is only remarkable for having confederated with the sea-king Anlaf to invade England, and shared the defeat which the Norse-men received from Athelstane, at the great battle of Brunanburgh. Escaped from the slaughter of that bloody day, in which he lost a gallant son, Constantine retired into a cloister, and became a chief of Culdees, in the fortieth year of his reign, A.D. 952.

Malcolm, the first of a name that is famous in Scottish annals, enlarged his territories by a valuable acquisition. We have not yet had occasion to mention that, opposite to the British kingdom of Strath-Clyde, there lay another kingdom of the same nation called Reged, also consisting of British tribes, and much renowned in the lays of their bards. This separate state, consisting of Cumberland and Westmoreland, made a stout resistance to the foreigners; nor were the Saxon princes of the period ever able thoroughly to subdue them. Edmund the elder, of England, wasted this little kingdom by way of punishing its insubordination; he put out the eyes of the five sons of Dumnail, its last British king, and bestowed the territory on Malcolm, king of Scots, on condition that he should become his ally, and assist him by sea and land in defence of his kingdom. Thus by a singular anomaly, while England was in possession of the Lothians, at present an indubitable part of Scotland, the king of Scots possessed Cumberland and Westmoreland, now an undisputed part of the territories of England.

Of the reigns of Indulf and Duff, princes who succeeded Malcolm, little is known. But the death of Culen, the third successor of Malcolm, proves the curious fact, that the Britons of Strath-Clyde were still independent. The violation of a British maiden of royal birth gave occasion to a war between them and the Scots. The Britons were victorious, and Culen fell in the year 970. Kenneth III., son of Malcolm I., succeeded to the Scot-

ish throne. He subjected to his sway the Britons of Strath-Clyde, and thus added materially to the strength of his kingdom. It appears, however, that Strath-Clyde was governed by separate though tributary princes for some time after it was joined to the realm of Scotland. In the reign of this prince the Danes entered the firth of Tay with a large fleet. They were met by the Scottish king, and a decisive battle took place at Luncarty. The Danes fought with their accustomed fury, and compelled the two Scottish wings to retire behind the centre, which, commanded by Kenneth in person, stood firm and decided the fate of the day. Monumental stones, barrows filled with the reliques and arms of those who fell, attest the truth of this battle, remembered yet for the obstinacy with which it was fought, notwithstanding which some historians have affected incredulity on the subject.

Kenneth III. came to his end by female treachery. He had put to death the only son of Fenella, wife of the maormor or viceroy of Kincardineshire. Fenella, though the execution had been a deserved one, did not the less readily determine on revenging her son's death. She invited Kenneth to lodge in her house near Fettercairn in the Mearns : here he was assassinated. The inhospitable murderess escaped from her castle (of which the vestiges are still visible) down a valley, still called Strath-Fenella, to a place in the parish of Fordun, where she was seized and put to death.

The sons of two of Kenneth the third's predecessors strove for the Scottish crown. One of these was Constantine IV., son of Culen, who assumed the title of king, but was defeated and slain in 995 by Kenneth IV., son of Duff, called the grim. He was in turn dethroned and slain by Malcolm, son of Kenneth the third, after eight years spent in broils and bloodshed. This was in 1003.

The victor, Malcolm II., was an able prince and renowned leader. He had much trouble from invasions of the Danes. In 1010 they made a descent upon Moray, and the king of Scots met them in battle. The fury of

the North-men prevailed, and the Scots retreated to the vicinity of a chapel dedicated to Saint Molech. Here Malcolm, in despair of earthly aid, threw himself from his horse, and made a vow to found a cathedral church to the same tutelar power (however ambiguous the sound of his name), provided he should obtain the victory by his intercession. Rising from his knees, Malcolm fought with enthusiasm, slew the Danish king, and gained a complete victory. The church, dedicated to Saint Molech, was built, and is still standing. Twenty-three feet is said to have been selected for the length of the chancel, that it might correspond with that of the king's gigantic spear, for so ran an article of his vow. Several Danish skulls, the relics of distinguished champions, were built up in the wall of the church of Mortlach. Sueno, the Danish monarch, renewed the attempt at invasion by detaching a fleet and army under Canus, one of the most renowned of the vikings, or kings of the ocean; but he was defeated and slain at Aberlemno, where a tall monumental stone, highly sculptured, still preserves remembrance of the action.

Sueno, disheartened by so many defeats, seems to have entered into some convention with Malcolm II. for abstaining from future invasion, and abandoning a species of castle which he had established in Moray called the Burgh-head. It was highly to the honour both of prince and people that these northern warriors, who successfully annoyed the sea-coasts of every other country in Europe, and had established a Danish dynasty on the throne of England, were taught by successive defeats to shun the fatal shores of Scotland. It was, probably, the renown attendant on the victories over the Danes, as well as a successful campaign against the Saxons, which gained to Malcolm a large and valuable accession to his territories. Eadulf-Cudel, earl of Northumberland, in 1020 ceded to the Scottish king the rich district of Lothene or Lothian, including not only the whole of the three provinces now called so, but Berwickshire and the lower part of Teviotdale as high perhaps as Melrose upon the Tweed. The condition

of this cession was lasting friendship, afterwards apparently explained into homage, which the Scottish kings certainly paid for this district of Lothian as well as for other possessions in England, to the sovereigns of that country.

Malcolm died peaceably in 1033, and was succeeded by "The gracious Duncan," the same who fell by the poniard of Macbeth. On reading these names every reader must feel as if brought from darkness into the blaze of noonday; so familiar are we with the personages whom we last named, and so clearly and distinctly we recall the events in which they are interested, in comparison with any doubtful and misty views which we can form of the twilight times before and after that fortunate period. But we must not be blinded by our poetical enthusiasm, nor add more than due importance to legends, because they have been woven into the most striking tale of ambition and remorse that ever struck awe into a human bosom. The genius of Shakespeare having found the tale of Macbeth in the Scottish chronicles of Holinshed, adorned it with a lustre similar to that with which a level beam of the sun often invests some fragment of glass, which, though shining at a distance with the lustre of a diamond, is by a near investigation discovered to be of no worth or estimation.

Duncan, by his mother Beatrice a grandson of Malcolm II., succeeded to the throne on his grandfather's death, in 1033: he reigned only six years. Macbeth, his near relation, also a grandchild of Malcolm II., though by the mother's side, was stirred up by ambition to contest the throne with the possessor. The lady of Macbeth also, whose real name was Graoch, had deadly injuries to avenge on the reigning prince. She was the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV., killed in 1003, fighting against Malcolm II.; and other causes for revenge animated the mind of her who has been since painted as the sternest of women. The old annalists add some insinuations of a supernatural kind to the influence of a vindictive woman over an ambitious husband. Three

women, of more than human stature and beauty, appeared to Macbeth in a dream or vision, and hailed him successively by the titles of thane of Cromarty, thane of Moray, which the king afterwards bestowed on him, and finally by that of king of Scots: this dream, it is said, inspired him with the seductive hopes so well expressed in the drama. Macbeth broke no law of hospitality in his attempt on Duncan's life. He attacked and slew the king at a place called Botlegowan, or the Smith's House, near Elgin, in 1039, and not, as has been supposed, in his own castle of Inverness. The act was bloody, as was the complexion of the times; but, in very truth, the claim of Macbeth to the throne, according to the rule of Scottish succession, was better than that of Duncan. As a king, the tyrant so much exclaimed against was, in reality, a firm, just, and equitable prince.

Apprehensions of danger from a party which Malcolm, the eldest son of the slaughtered Duncan, had set on foot in Northumberland, and still maintained in Scotland, seems, in process of time, to have soured the temper of Macbeth, and rendered him formidable to his nobility. Against Macduff, in particular, the powerful maormor of Fife, he had uttered some threats which occasioned that chief to fly from the court of Scotland. Urged by this new counsellor, Siward, the Danish earl of Northumberland, invaded Scotland in the year 1054, displaying his banner in behalf of the banished Malcolm. Macbeth engaged the foe in the neighbourhood of his celebrated castle of Dunsmine. He was defeated, but escaped from the battle, and was slain at Lumphanan in 1056.

Very slight observation will enable us to recollect how much this simple statement differs from that of the drama, though the plot of the latter is consistent enough with the inaccurate historians from whom Shakespeare drew his materials. It might be added, that early authorities show us no such persons as Banquo and his son Fleance, nor have we reason to think that the latter ever fled further from Macbeth than across the flat scene, according to the stage direction. Neither

were Banquo or his son ancestors of the house of Stuart. All these things are now known; but the mind retains pertinaciously the impression made by the impositions of genius. While the works of Shakspeare are read, and the English language subsists, History may say what she will, but the general reader will only recollect Macbeth as a sacrilegious usurper, and Richard as a deformed murderer.

Macbeth left a son, named Luach, which is translated *fatus*, or the simple. After a few months' struggle, he was defeated and slain at Essie, in Strath-Bogie.

CHAP. III.

MALCOLM III., CALLED CEAN-MOHR. — FOREIGNERS SEEK REFUGE IN SCOTLAND: KINDLY RECEIVED BY THE KING AND BY HIS WIFE. — THE KING'S AFFECTION FOR MARGARET. — DEATH OF MARGARET. — DONALD BANE. — DUNCAN. — ALEXANDER I. — DAVID I. — BATTLE OF NORTH-LETON. — DAVID'S DEATH. — HIS BENEFICENCE TO THE CHURCH. — HIS CHARACTER AS A SOVEREIGN.

MALCOLM III., son of Duncan, called Cean-mohr, or great-head, from the misproportioned size of that part of his body, ascended the Scottish throne in 1056. He was a prince of valour and talent, and, having been bred in the school of adversity, had profited by the lessons taught in that stern seminary. His long residence in the north of England must necessarily have given him means of acquiring more information than if he had remained during his youth with his ignorant subjects. In his reign, too, a more steady light begins to dawn on Scottish history; rather, however, from the English annals than from any that are proper to the kingdom itself. Malcolm had resided long in England; he had probably visited the capital during the time of Edward the Confessor, to whom he had been indebted for relief and protection. His habits and attachments led him to keep up a

of the rebellious Northumbrians, William ravaged the country with a fury which laid utterly waste the fertile possessions between the Humber and Tees. So dolefully was the face of the country changed, says William of Malmesbury, that a stranger would have wept over it, and an ancient inhabitant would not have recognised it. Many thousands of the lower orders, and also a considerable number both of Anglo-Saxons and Normans of condition, who had incurred the wrath of the Conqueror William, so easy to awake, and so difficult to appease, retired into Scotland as the best place of refuge. Malcolm, sensible of the value of the Norman chivalry, received both them and the English with distinction, and conferred offices, honours, and estates upon them with no sparing hand. For example, he gave refuge to the Earl of March, who, by a corruption of his name and title (Comes Patricius), was called Gosspatrick, when he was banished from England. To this powerful baron Malcolm committed the castle of Dunbar, which might be called the second and inner gate of Scotland, supposing the strong town of Berwick to be the first. The example is only one out of many instances in which this Scottish monarch displayed his condence in the Normans, and his desire to engage in his service distinguished persons of that redoubted nation, who, in that age, possessed the highest character for military skill and invincible valour.

The course which Malcolm Cean-mohr pursued from political prudence was forwarded by his royal consort from love to her native country, joined to the dictates of female sympathy with misfortune. She did all in her power, and influenced as far as possible the mind of her husband, to relieve the distresses of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree; assuaged their afflictions, and was zealous in protecting those who had been involved in the ruin which the battle of Hastings brought on the royal house of Edward the Confessor. The gentleness and mildness of temper proper to this amiable woman, probably also the experience

of Carlisle, both necessarily tending to bridge and render insecure the possessions of the Scottish king in the two northern counties. The question of homage was fiercely agitated at this early period, as in subsequent generations, and usually arranged upon general terms, or, according to the legal phrase, *salvo jure cuiuslibet*.

These heart-burnings were terminated by the death of Malcolm Cean-mohr. This enterprising prince made a hasty incursion into England, and besieged Alnwick with a tumultuary army. The circumstance that a fortress so near the frontiers was not in his possession argues how imperfect was his authority in Northumberland. While thus employed, he was surprised by Roger de Mowbray, a Norman baron, at the head of a considerable force, and an action ensued, on the 13th November, 1093, in which Malcolm Cean-mohr fell, with his eldest son. Queen Margaret, much indisposed at the time, only lived to hear the event, and express her resignation to the will of God. She died on the 16th November, on receiving the fatal tidings.

After her death, Margaret was received into the Romish calendar. A legend of a well-imagined miracle narrates, that when it was proposed to remove the body of the new saint to a tomb of more distinction, it was found impossible to lift it until that of her husband had received the same honour, as if in her state of beatitude Margaret had been guided by the same feelings of conjugal deference and affection which had regulated this excellent woman's conduct while on earth.

The character of Malcolm Cean-mohr himself stands high, if his situation and opportunities be considered. He was a man of undaunted courage and generosity. A nobleman of his court had engaged to assassinate him. The circumstance became known to the king, who, during the amusement of a hunting-match, drew the conspirator into a solitary glade of the forest, upbraided him with his traitorous intentions, and defied him to mortal and equal combat. The assassin, surprised at this act of generosity, threw himself at the

king's feet, confessed his meditated crime, his penitence, and vowed fidelity for the future. The king trusted him as before, and had no reason to repent of his mainly conduct. This story seems to show that Malcolm, the protector and friend of the chivalrous Normans, had caught a portion of that spirit of knightly honour and high-souled generosity which they contributed so much to spread throughout Europe.

A very improbable legend asserts that Malcolm formally introduced the feudal system into Scotland. It is circumstantially alleged that he summoned all the Scottish nobility to meet him at Scone, and that each bringing with him, as directed, a handful of earth from his lands, surrendered them by that symbol to the king, who granted charters of them anew to each proprietor, under the form of feudal investiture. The Mount-hill of Scone, or place of justice, called *Alons phrivi*, is said to be composed of these symbols of surrender, and thence called *omnis terra*. This legend is totally incredible. But if Malcolm did not, as indeed he probably could not, change the laws of his whole kingdom, by altering in every case the tenure on which property was held, there is no doubt that, by various grants in particular instances, he contributed to introduce into Scotland the custom of feudal investitures. It was a system agreeable to the prince, to whom it attributed the flattering character of superior, paramount, or original proprietor of the lands of the whole kingdom. It was agreeable also to the Normans whom he attracted to his court. These attached security to a royal charter, and felt that they increased their personal consequence, by obtaining the power of granting lands which they could not occupy to sub-vassals, who should hold of them, under terms of service similar to those by which they themselves held their estates from the crown. The feudal system was also the established law of France and England, to which the Scottish monarch would naturally look for the means of improving the rude institutions of his native country. Although, therefore, feudal law certainly was not introduced by Malcolm Cean-mohr, we

amiable Margaret, being favoured by William Rufus, received succours from England, and making himself master of his uncle Donald Bane's person, imprisoned him, and put out his eyes. Edmund, who had been the author of this second usurpation of Donald Bane, was imprisoned, and in token of penitence for the guilt he had incurred by his accession to the murder of Duncan, ordered the fetters which he had worn in his dungeon to be buried with him in his coffin. Notwithstanding his cruelty to his aged uncle, the character of Edgar seems to have been equitable and humane. He kept peace with England; and the animosity between the kingdoms was strengthened by Henry I., called Beauclerc, becoming the husband of Matilda, the sister of Edgar. Edgar died, after an undisturbed reign of about nine years.

Alexander I. succeeded as next brother of Edgar. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the determined struggle which he made in defence of the independence of the church of Scotland. This was maintained against the archbishops of Canterbury and York, each of whom claimed a spiritual superiority over Scotland, and a right to consecrate the archbishop of St. Andrews, the primate of that kingdom. Notwithstanding the hostile interference of the pope, Alexander, with considerable address, contrived to play off the contradictory pretensions of the two English archbishops against each other, and thus to evade complying with either. Of Alexander's personal character we can only judge from the epithet of *the fierce*, which referred probably to his own temper and manners, since assuredly his reign was peaceful. He died 1124.

Alexander was succeeded by David I., youngest son of Malcolm Cean-mohr, and a monarch of great talents. He was free from the ignorant barbarity of his countrymen, having been educated, during his youth, at the court of Henry I., the celebrated Beauclerc, his sister's husband. David had entered into the views of that wise monarch touching his succession, and had

sworn to maintain the right of Henry's daughter, the empress Matilda, the well-known queen Maud of the English chronicles, to the kingdom of England. Accordingly he asserted her title in 1135, and when, upon the death of Henry, Stephen earl of Mortagne usurped the throne of England, the Scottish king commenced war for the purpose of displacing him. But the forces of David I. were of a character unusually tumultuary, and afforded a curious specimen of the miscellaneous tribes which, long mixing without incorporating, at length formed the source from which the Scottish people of modern times derive their descent. "That accursed army," says the monkish chronicler, so stigmatising David's troops on account of their horrible excesses, "consisted of Normans, Germans, and English, of Cumbrian Britons, of Northumbrians, of men of Teviotdale and Lothian, of Picts, commonly called men of Galloway, and of Scots." Differing from each other in customs, and in a certain measure in language, these various nations seem only to have agreed in the general use of the utmost licence and cruelty, which the English historians candidly admit was restrained as much as possible by the regulations of their monarch.

Stephen marched northwards to repel David and his miscellaneous host; but the war languished, and gave place to a succession of truces and hollow treaties, which were made and broken without much ceremony. The parties were, perhaps, more equally balanced than a Scottish and an English king had been either before or after. The want of discipline in David's army was compensated by the treachery subsisting in that of Stephen, which every now and then showed itself by the revolt of some of his barons. Stephen tried to obtain peace with Scotland by surrender of the open country in Northumberland and Cumberland, retaining, however, the castles and strong places, by means of which the territory which he now ceded could, in a more favourable moment, be speedily recovered. David was awake to this policy, and well aware his single force was unequal to placing Matilda in the throne, he, with the usual policy of auxiliaries,

made it his object to gain what enlargement of territory, he could, either by conquest or cession, though the price should be his forsaking the cause in which he had taken up arms. For this purpose, he invaded Northumberland in 1138, at a time when Stephen was hard pressed in the south, that he was compelled to abandon the northern barons to their own defence. These brave men, however, despised submission to an invader; or, whatever deference some of them might be disposed to render to the king of Scots' personal merits, the atrocities of the Galwegians and other barbarous tribes in David's army roused every hand in opposition to such an army and its leader. Thurstan, archbishop of York, a prelate of equal prudence and spirit, summoned a convention of the English northern barons, and exhorted them to determined resistance. Age and boyhood were called to the combat. Roger de Mowbray, almost a child, was brought to the English host, and placed at the head of his numerous vassals. Walter Bispes, an aged baron of great fame in war, was chosen general-in-chief. A standard was erected in the camp, being the mast of a ship fixed on a four-wheeled carriage, from which were displayed the banners of Saint Peter of York, Saint John of Beverley, and Saint Wilfred of Rippon. On the top, and surrounded by these ensigns, was a casket or pyx, containing a consecrated host. The displaying of this *standard* served to give a sacred character to the war, and was the more appropriate, as the struggle was with the Galwegians, a barbarous people, as sacrilegious as they were bloodthirsty and inhuman. With this apparatus of religion David had moved towards the same point, and not without gaining considerable success. William, the son of that Duncan, natural brother of David, who had expelled Donald Bane from the Scottish throne in 1094, was a distinguished leader in his uncle's army. He seems to have been a chief of military talent, and was employed by David in commanding the Galwegians so often mentioned. On this occasion he led a large body

of these wild men into Lancashire, and defeated a considerable English army at a place called Clithrow, near the sources of the Ribble. From thence William Mac Duncan conducted them to join king David at Northallerton, loaded as they were with spoil, and

related with additional presumption.

David, thus reinforced, moved forward with such celerity, that he had well nigh surprised the English army, who were encamped on Cutton Moor. Robert de Bruce, an aged Norman baron, familiar with the king, and holding, as many others did, lands in both kingdoms, was despatched from the English camp to negotiate with David, at least to gain time. This old warrior objected to the king the impolicy and unkindness of oppressing the English and Normans, whose arms had often supported the Scottish throne. He argued with him upon the unchivalrous and unchristian atrocities of his soldiers, and finally surrendering the land which he held of David, he renounced all homage to him, and declared himself his enemy. Bernard de Baliol, a Yorkshire baron in like circumstances, made a similar renunciation and defiance. Bruce and the king wept as they parted. William, the son of Duncan, called Bruce a false traitor.

Another characteristic scene took place in a council of war held in the Scottish camp on the same evening, to prepare for the battle of the next day. The king had determined that the action should be begun by the archers and men-at-arms, who composed the regular strength of his army. But the Galwegians, presumptuous from their late success, were determined on leading the van, though it is not easy to guess by what alleged right they supported such a pretension. "Whence this confidence in these men cased in mail?" said a Celtic chief, Malise earl of Stratherne: "I wear none; yet will I advance further to-morrow than those who are sheathed in steel." Alan de Percy, a natural brother of the great baron of that name, and a follower of David, replied that Malise said more than he would dare to make good. David interferred to put an end to the

dispute, and yielded, though unwillingly, to the claim of the Galwegians.

August 22. 1138. On the fatal morning both armies drew up. The English were in one compact body, with their cavalry in the rear. The Scottish army formed three lines. In the first were the Galwegians, under their leaders, Ulick and Dovenal. The second line was commanded by David's son prince Henry, and consisted of the men at arms and the archers, with the men of Cumberland and Tervordale, both of the ancient stock of Britons. The men of Lothian and the Hebrideans formed the third body; and a reserve, consisting of selected English and Normans, with the Scots properly called so, and the Moray men, who were chiefly of Scandinavian descent, completed the order of battle. Here David himself took his station.

The English in the mean time received the blessing of the aged Thurstan, conferred by his delegate the titular bishop of the Orkneys, and swore to each other to be victorious or die. The Galwegians rushed on with a hideous cry of *Albanagh*, and staggered the phalanx of spearmen, on whom they threw themselves with incredible fury. The severe and unrelenting discharge of the English archery was, however, unsupportable by naked men, and the Galwegians were about to leave the field, when prince Henry came up with the Scots men at arms in full career, and dispersed "like a spider's web" that part of the English army which was opposed to him. The Galwegians had begun to rally, and the battle was renewed with fury, when a report flew through both armies that David had fallen. It was in vain that the king flew helmetless through the ranks, imploring the soldiers to rally and stand by him. Order could not be restored, and he was at length forced from the field to secure his personal safety. The king

* By this they meant to announce themselves as descended from the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, called of old Albany and Alban. When they were repulsed, the English called in scorn, *Egygch, Elygch*, "you are but Irish," which, indeed, must have been true of that part of the Galwegians called the wild Scots of Galloway, who are undoubtedly Scotch Irish.

availed himself of the humiliation of the Galwegians to introduce some humanity into his army of barbarians, and to draw the reins of discipline more tight.

It is obvious from this whole narrative that the battle of Cuten Moor, or Northallerton, was a well-disputed, and for some time a doubtful action; and though its immediate consequences seem less important, the remote effects of the victory decided much in favour of England. David, victorious at Cuten Moor, might have assured to himself and his posterity the north of England, as far as the Trent and Humber; and what influential importance that must have given to a Scottish monarch in future wars can only be matter of conjecture, or must rather have depended on the character and talents of David's successors.

Even amid all the pride of victory, Stephen con- 113

sented, for the sake of peace, to surrender to prince Henry of Scotland the whole earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the castles of Newcastle and Bamborough, by means of which the English monarch retained the means of recovering the whole province when time should serve. After this peace of Durham, as it was called, David appears to have gone to London, in 1141, to share the short-lived triumph of his niece Matilda. But this was the visit of a relation and friend, and not that of an ally. The Scottish king found the royal lady ill-disposed to receive the lessons of calmness and moderation which his experience recommended, and returned to his own country in disgust, leaving his niece to her fortunes. In 1152 Scotland lost a treasure by the death of the inestimable prince Henry. He left by Ada, an English lady of quality, a family of three sons and as many daughters. In the subsequent year the venerable David followed his son. Having discharged all his duty as a man and a monarch, by settling his affairs as well as the early age of his grandchildren would permit, he was found dead in an attitude of devotion 24 May, 1153.

That extensive liberality to the church which procured David's admission into the ample roll of Romish saints,

In point of civilization, the character and habits of David were highly favourable to the advance of those schemes which his father Malcolm Cean-mohr had formed, with the assistance perhaps of his sainted queen. In choosing his residence, Malcolm had pitched upon Dunfermline, being the very verge of his kingdom, as far as it was properly Scottish. David, in imitation of his father, Malcolm Cean-mohr, pushed southwards across the broad firth, and was, it would seem, the first Scottish king who sometimes resided at Edinburgh, which, from its strong fortress and neighbouring sea-port, was now become a place of consideration, and where he founded the abbey of Holy Rood, afterward the royal residence of the monarchs of Scotland. This choice of abode placed him in frequent contact with the only province of his kingdom in which English was constantly spoken, led to the frequent use of that language in his court, and to the increase of the civilization with which he had become acquainted during his education in England.

suppliant.
it, until he had heard and answered the petition of the the amusement, though the king was passionately fond of requiring justice at his hand was sufficient to postpone for the enjoyment of the chase, the voice of a poor man were drawn out, his courser mounted, and all prepared he was always ready to postpone it to duty. If his hounds recorded of David, that, loving pleasure like other men, sideration of the duty he owed to his subjects. It is also was withheld from his purpose by a more rational consideration of his life to combating the Saracens. But he going a pilgrimage to Palestine, and dedicating the remainder of his life to combat under his rule, that it the crimes they had committed under his rule, that it which suffered. Nay, so great was his remorse for what he could not prevent by presents to the churches by his lawless armies, and endeavoured to atone for

Somerled was at this time lord of the isles, and a frequent leader in such incursions. Peace was made with this turbulent chief in 1153; but in 1164, ten years after, Somerled was again in arms, and fell, attempting a descent at Renfrew.

Malcolm IV.'s transactions with Henry of England were of greater moment. Henry (second of the name) had sworn (in 1149) that if he ever gained the English crown he would put the Scottish king in possession of Carlisle, and of all the country lying between Tweed and Tyne; but, when securely seated on the throne, instead of fulfilling his obligation, he endeavoured to deprive Malcolm of such possessions in the northern counties as yet remained to him, forgetting his obligations to his great-uncle David, and his relationship to the young king his grandson. The youth and inexperience of Malcolm seem on this occasion to have been circumvented by the sagacity of Henry, who was besides, in point of power, greatly superior to the young Scots prince. Indeed, it would appear that the English sovereign had acquired a personal influence over his kinsman of which his Scottish subjects had reason to be jealous. Malcolm yielded up to Henry all his possessions in Cumberland and Northumberland; and when it is considered that his grandfather David had not been able to retain them with any secure hold, even when England was distracted with the civil wars of Stephen and Matilda, it must be owned that his descendant, opposed to Henry II. in his plenitude of undisputed power, had little chance to make his claim good. He also did homage for Lothian, to the great scandal of Scottish historians, who, conceiving his doing so affected the question of Scottish independence, are much disposed to find the Lothian, for which the homage was rendered, in Leeds or some other place, different from the real Lothian which they considered as an original part of Scotland. But this arises from their entertaining the erroneous opinion that Lothian-bore, in Malcolm the fourth's time, the same character of an integral part of Scotland which it has long

magne, and by which the latter monarch is idly said to have taken into his pay a body of Scottish mercenaries.

The declared enemy of England, William took advantage of the family discords of Henry II. to lend that prince's son Richard assistance against his father. The Scottish king obtained from the insurgent prince a grant of the earldom of Northumberland as far as the Tyne. Willing to merit this munificence on the part of Richard, William in 1173 invaded Northumberland without any marked success. In the subsequent year he renewed the

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attempt, which terminated most disastrously. The Scottish king had stationed himself before Alnwick, a fortress fatal to his family, and was watching the motions of the garrison while his numerous and disorderly army plundered the country. Meantime a band of those northern barons of England, whose ancestors had gained the battle of the standard, had arrived at Newcastle, and sallied out to scour the country. They made about four hundred horsemen, and had ridden out upon adventure, concealed by a heavy morning mist. A retreat was advised, as they became uncertain of their way; but Bernard de Baiol exclaimed, that should they all turn bridle, he alone would go on and preserve his honour. They advanced, accordingly, somewhat at random. The mist suddenly cleared away, and they discovered the battlements of Alnwick, and found themselves close to a body of about sixty horse, with whom William the Scottish king was patrolling the country. At first he took the English for a part of his own army, and when undceived said boldly, "Now shall we see who are good knights," and charged at the head of his handful of followers. He was unhorsed and made prisoner with divers of his principal followers. The northern barons, afraid of a rescue from the numerous Scottish army, retreated with all speed to Newcastle, bearing with them their royal captive. William was presented to Henry at Northampton with his legs tied beneath the horse's belly; unworthy usage for a captive prince, the near relation of his victor. It should be remembered, however, that

William's interference in the domestic quarrels of his family must have greatly incensed Henry against him, and that it was not a time when men were scrupulous in their mode of expressing resentment.

We may reasonably suppose that, with such vindictive feelings towards his prisoner, Henry II. was not likely to part with him unless upon the most severe terms. And the loss of the king was so complete a derangement of the system of government, as it then existed in Scotland, that the Scottish nobility and clergy consented that, in order to obtain his freedom, William should become the liegeman of Henry, and do homage for Scotland and all his other territories. Before this disgraceful treaty, which was concluded at Falaise in Normandy, in December, 1174, the kings of England had not the semblance of a right to exact homage for a single inch of Scottish ground, Lothian alone excepted, which was ceded to Malcolm II., as has been repeatedly mentioned, by grant of the Northumbrian earl Eadulf. All the other component parts of what is now termed Scotland had come to the crown of that kingdom by right of conquest, without having been dependent on England in any point of view. The Pictish territories had been united to those of the Scots by the victories of Kenneth Macalpine. Moray had reverted to the Scottish crown by the success of Malcolm II. in repelling the Danes. Galloway had also been reduced to the Scottish sway without the aid or intervention of England; and Strath-Clyde was subjected under like circumstances. A feudal dependence could only have been created by cession of land which had originally been English, or by restoring that which had been conquered from Scotland. But England could have no title to homage for provinces which, having never possessed, England could not cede, and having never conquered, could not restore.

Now, however, by the treaty of Falaise, the king of England was declared lord paramount of the whole kingdom of Scotland; a miserable example of that impatience which too often characterised the Scottish councils.

An attempt was made at the same time to subject the Scottish church to that of England, by a clause in the same treaty, declaring that the former should be bound to the latter in such subjection as had been due and paid of old time, and that the English church should enjoy that supremacy which in justice she ought to possess. The Scottish churchmen explained this provision, which was formed with studied ambiguity, as leaving the whole question entire, since they alleged that no supremacy had been yielded in former times, and that none was justly due. But the civil article of submission was more carefully worded; and the principal castles in the realm, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling were put in Henry's hands as pledges for the execution of the treaty of Falaise; while the king's brother David earl of Huntingdon and many Scottish nobles were surrendered as hostages to the same effect. Homage for broad Scotland was in fact rendered at York according to the tenour of the treaty, and the king's personal freedom was then obtained.

William had surrendered the independence of his kingdom in ill-advised eagerness to recover his personal freedom; but he maintained with better spirit the franchises of the church. In a disputed election for the archbishopric of Saint Andrew's, he opposed with steadiness and constancy the induction of John called the Scot, who was patronized by the pope Alexander III. The kingdom of Scotland was laid under an interdict; but William remained unshaken; and a new pope, willing to compromise the matter, gave way to the king's pleasure, and recalled the excommunication. In 1188, pope Clement the third formally ratified the privileges of the church of Scotland, as a daughter of, and immediately subject to, Rome, and declared that no sentence of excommunication should be pronounced there save by his holiness or his legate *a latere*, such legate being a Scottish subject, or one specially deputed out of the sacred college. These were the principal transactions of William's reign after his release till the death of Henry II.

of England, omitting only some savage transactions in Galloway, which argued the total barbarity of the inhabitants.

The frontier castles of Roxburgh and Berwick still remained in possession of the English at the death of Henry II. On the succession of his son, Richard Cœur de Lion, a remarkable treaty was entered into betwixt the kings and nations, by which, after a personal interview with William, at Canterbury, Richard renounced all right of superiority or homage which had been exacted from William during his captivity, and re-established the borders of the two kingdoms as they had been at the time of William's misfortune; reserving to England such homage as Malcolm, the elder brother of William, had paid, or was bound to have rendered; and thus replacing Scotland fully in the situation of national independence resigned by the treaty of Falaise. All claims of homage due to England before that surrender were carefully reserved, and therefore William was still the king of England's vassal for Lothian, for the town of Berwick, and for whatever lands besides he possessed within the realm of England. The stipulated compensation to be paid by Scotland for this ample restitution of her national freedom was ten thousand marks sterling, a sum equal to one hundred thousand pounds in the present day.

The inducements leading Richard to renounce the advantages which his father had acquired in the moment of William's misfortune were manifest:—1. The generous nature of Richard probably remembered that the invasion of Northumberland and the battle of Alnwick took place in consequence of a treaty betwixt William and himself; and he might think himself obliged in honour to relieve his ally of some part, at least, of the ill consequences which had followed his ill-fated attempt to carry into effect their agreement. This was, indeed, an argument which monarchs of a selfish disposition would not have been willing to admit; but it was calculated to affect the chivalrous and generous feelings of Cœur de

Lion. — 2. Richard being on the point of embarking for the Holy Land, a large sum of money was of more importance to him than the barren claim of homage, which, in effect, could never have a real or distinct value to an English monarch, unless when, at some favourable opportunity, it could be connected with a claim to the property as well as the mere superiority of the kingdom of Scotland. — 3. It was of the highest consequence that the English king, bound on a distant expedition with the flower of his army, should leave a near-bordering and warlike neighbour rather in the condition of a grateful ally, than of a sullen and discontented vassal, desirous to snatch the first opportunity of bursting his feudal fetters, by an exertion of violence similar to that which had imposed them.

The money stipulated for the redemption of the national independence of Scotland was collected by an aid granted to the king by the nobles and the clergy; and there is reason to think that, in part at least, the burthen descended on the inhabitants in the shape of a capitation tax. Two thousand marks remained due when Richard himself became a prisoner, and were paid by William in aid of the lion-hearted prince's ransom, if indeed, which seems equally probable, that sum was not a generous and gratuitous contribution on the part of the Scottish king towards the liberation of his benefactor.

Domestic dissensions in his distant provinces, all of them brought to a happy conclusion by his skill and activity, are the most marked historical events in William's after-reign. Some misunderstanding with king John of England occasioned the levying forces on both sides; but by a treaty entered into betwixt the princes the causes of complaint were removed; William agreeing to pay to John a sum of 15,000 marks for good-will, it is said, and for certain favourable conditions. William died at Stirling, aged seventy-two, after a long and active reign of forty-eight years.

William derived his cognomen of the Lion from his being the first who adopted that

e armorial

In 1228 it was the district of Moray which was discontinued and disturbed by the achievements of one Gillescop, who was put down and executed by the efforts of the earl of Buchan, justiciary of Scotland. In 1231 Cathness witnessed a second tragedy similar to that of 1228, only the parts of the performers were altered. It was now the bishop or his retainers who murdered the earl of Cathness, and burned his castle. This called for and received fresh chastisement.

In 1233 new tumults arose among the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. Alan, lord of Galloway, died, leaving three daughters. The king was desirous of dividing the region amongst them as heirs portioners. The inhabitants withstood, in arms, the partition of their country, being resolved it should continue in the form of a single fief. The purpose of the king was to break the strength of this great principality, and create three chiefs who might be naturally expected to be more dependent on the crown than a single overgrown vassal had proved to be. Alexander led an army against the insurgents, defeated them, and effected the proposed division of the province.

It is to be carefully noted, that all these wars with his insurgent Celtic subjects, though maintained by the king in defence of the administration of justice and authority, tended not the less to alienate the districts in which they took place from the royal power and authority; and the temporary submission of their chiefs was always made with reluctance, and seldom with sincerity.

Alexander II. died in the remote island of Kerrera, in the Hebrides, while engaged in an expedition for compelling the island chiefs to transfer to the Scottish king an homage which some of them had paid to Norway, as lord paramount of the isles. He was a wise and active monarch. He showed his integrity by the care and good faith with which he protected the frontiers of England, when confided to him, in 1241, by his contemporary Henry III. Alexander II. left no children

that he determined on an invasion of his kingdom. He was met by Alexander, at the head of a gallant army, near Ponteland, in Westmoreland, and a peace was agreed upon without any further discussion about the homage. It was clear, however, that the matter lay near to the heart of the English sovereign; and no sooner was Alexander II. deceased than Henry applied to the pope, praying him to interdict the solemn coronation of Alexander II. till he, as feudal superior of Scotland, should give consent. The Scottish nobility heard of this interference, and resolved to hasten the ceremony. Some difficulty occurred whether the crown could be placed on the head of one not yet dubbed knight, so essential was the rank of chivalry then considered even to the dignity of royalty. It was suggested by Comyn, earl of Monteth, that the bishop of Saint Andrew's should knight the king as well as crown him; and the proposal was agreed to. The boy was made to take the coronation oaths in Latin and in Norman-French: this was a Gothic part of the ceremony. That the Scottish or Celtic forms might also be complied with, a Highland bard, dressed in a scarlet robe, venerable for his hoary beard and locks, knelt before the young king, while seated on the fated stone, and, as at the coronation of Malcolm IV., recited the royal genealogy in a set of names that must have sounded like an invocation of the fends.

The young king was, shortly after his coronation, married to the English princess Margaret, daughter of Henry III. In virtue of the interest thus obtained, Henry interested himself officiously in the affairs of Scotland, to the great offence of the natives. He succeeded in establishing a party within Scotland in his interests, which was strongly opposed by others of the Scottish registry; and various struggles took place, in which no young king of Scots showed, even while a boy, much judgment and steadiness of character. He repeatedly visited the court of his father-in-law as an honoured friend and relative; but testified while there a steady and ho-

263. nouable determination to transact no affairs of state, by which the honour of his country or its interests could be compromised, alleging, that he could not do so without the advice of his national council. Peace was thus preserved, the independence of Scotland guarded from hazard, and all possibility of taking advantage of Alexander's youth and inexperience effectually averted. During one of these temporary residences in England, queen Margaret became mother of a princess, who was named after her mother. It appears that some of these visits were made with a view to recover payment of queen Margaret's stipulated dowry; and so poor was Henry's exchequer at the time, that five hundred marks exchanged its contents; and the king of England was fain to take more distant periods to pay the remainder of the sum, being 1000 marks, still due.

Alexander III. was now a youth of twenty-two years old, fit and capable to head an army. It was well he was so, for a formidable invasion impended. This attack came from Haco, king of Norway. That warlike prince had collected a formidable fleet and army, with the determination of supporting his interest in the Hebridean islands, which had been gradually sinking under the efforts of the present king of Scotland, who pursued the policy of his father, in compelling those island lords to renounce their dependence on Norway, and hold their isles of the Scottish crown. The fleet of Haco was freighted with many thousands of those same northern warriors whose courage had been felt as irresistible on almost all the shores of Europe, and was accounted the most formidable armament that had ever sailed from Norway.

263. The king of Norse, with this powerful army, arrived in the bay of Largs, near the mouth of the Clyde, and attempted to effect a landing. The weather was tempestuous, and rendered their disembarkation partial, difficult, and dangerous. The Scottish forces were on foot and prepared. The Norwegians persisted in their attempt, and Alexander and his army made

equal efforts to repulse them. The Norwegian historians have not denied that their host suffered much from the sword of the enemy, though they ascribe the total discomfiture of their undertaking to the rage of the elements. The number of defenders daily increased, and the efforts of the assailants diminished; and Haco, after a long and desperate perseverance in attempts to land, at last withdrew from his enterprise, and fled with his shattered navy through the strait between Skye and the main land, which, since called Kyle Haken, still retains his name. Doubling the northern extremity of Scotland, the king of Norway, after much loss and suffering, reached the islands of Orkney, which then belonged to him, and yielding to the effects of an exhausted constitution, acted upon by the mortified ambition and wounded pride of a soldier, died there within a few weeks after his fatal disaster at Largs. In consequence of this decisive action, a treaty was entered into, by which Norway ceded to Alexander III. all islands in the western sea of Scotland, and, indeed, all lying near to that country, excepting those of Orkney and Shetland, for which resignation the Scottish king and his estates covenanted to pay 4000 marks in four several sums, and a quit rent of 100 marks for ever.

In 1281, the league was drawn still closer by the marriage of Eric, the young king of Norway, with Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., by the English princess of that name. They had one only child, named after her mother, and called in Scottish history the Maiden of Norway, whose untimely death forms, as we shall hereafter see, a most gloomy era in Scottish history.

It is worth while to notice, that some dispute having occurred between Alexander and his clergy, the papal legate to England attempted to interfere, with the view of levying a contribution for the expense of his mission. But the king and the Scottish church having very sagely terminated their dispute without any need of mediation, resolved, that, as the legate's commission extended to

ished there since the fall of the British kingdom. There occurs a further reason why it should have been so. The clan, or patriarchal, system of government was particularly calculated for regulating a warlike and lawless country, as it provided for decision of disputes, and for the leading of the inhabitants to war, in the easiest and most simple manner possible. The clansmen submitted to the award of the chief in peace; they followed his banner to battle; they aided him with their advice in council, and the constitution of the tribe was complete. The nature of a frontier country exposed it in a peculiar degree to sudden danger, and therefore this expeditious mode of government, established there by the Britons, was probably handed down to later times, from its being specially adapted to the exigencies of the situation. But though the usage of clanship probably prevailed there, we are not prepared to show that any of the clans inhabiting the border country carry back their antiquity into the Celtic or British period. Their names declare them of more modern date.

Those various nations which we have enumerated had all a common Celtic descent; at least, it is yet unproved that the Picts were any other than the ancient Caledonians, who must of course have been Britons. Their manners were as simple as their form of government, exhibiting the vices and virtues of a barbarous state of society. They were brave, warlike, and formidable as light troops; but, armed with slender lances, unwieldy swords, and bucklers made of osiers or hides, they were ill qualified to sustain a lengthened conflict with the Norman warriors, who were regularly trained to battle, and entered it in close array and in complete armour. As other barbarians, the Celtic tribes were fickle and cruel at times, at other times capable of great kindness and generosity. Those who inhabited the mountains lived by their herds and flocks, and by the chase. The tribes who had any portion of arable ground cultivated it, under the direction of the chief, for the benefit of the community. As every clan formed the epitome of a nation within itself, plundering from

each other was a species of warfare to which no disgrace was attached; and when the mountaineers sought their booty in the low country, their prey was richer, perhaps, and less stoutly defended than when they attacked a kindred tribe of Highlanders. The lowlands were therefore chiefly harassed by their incursions.

The Picts seem to have made some progress in agriculture, and to have known something of architecture and domestic arts, which are earliest improved in the more fertile countries. But neither Scots, Picts, Galwegians, nor Strath-Clyde Britons seem to have possessed the knowledge of writing or use of the alphabet. Three or four different nations, each subdivided into an endless variety of independent clans, tribes, and families, were ill calculated to form an independent state so powerful as to maintain its ground among other nations, or defend its liberties against an ambitious neighbour. But the fortunate acquisition of the fertile province of Lothian, including all the country between the Tweed and Forth, and the judicious measures of Malcolm Cean-mohr and his successors, formed the means of giving consistency to that which was loose, and unity to that which was discordant, in the Scottish government.

With some of that craft which induced the Scottish proprietors of the middle ages to erect their castles on the very verge of their own property, and opposite to the residences of their most powerful neighbours, Malcolm Cean-mohr fixed his royal residence originally at Dunfermline, and his successors removed it to Edinburgh. Berwick and Dunbar were fortified so as to offer successful opposition to an invading army; and to cross the Tweed, which, in its lower course, is seldom fordable, leaving such strengths in their rear, would have been a hazardous attempt for an English invader, unless at the head of a very considerable army. The possession of Lothian, whose population was Saxon, intermingled with Danish, introduced to the king of Scotland and his court new wants, new wishes, new arts of policy, an intercourse with other countries to which they had formerly no access, and a

Malise, earl of Strathern, reproached the same monarch for trusting more to the mail and spear of Norman strangers than the undaunted courage of his native soldiers.

This intermixture gave a miscellaneous, and, in so far, an incoherent appearance to the inhabitants of Scotland at this period. They seemed not so much to constitute one state as a confederacy of tribes of different origin. Thus the charters of king David and his successors are addressed to all his subjects, French and English, Scottish and Galwegian. The manners, the prejudices of so many mixed races, corrected or neutralised each other; and the moral blending together of nations led in time, like some chemical mixture, to fermentation and subsequent purity. This was forwarded with the best intentions, though perhaps over hastily, and in so far injudiciously, by the efforts of the Scottish kings, who, from Malcolm Can-mohr's time to that of Alexander III., appear to have been a race of as excellent monarchs as ever swayed sceptre over a rude people. They were prudent in their schemes, and fortunate in the execution; and the exceptions occasioned by the death of Malcolm III. and the captivity of William can only be imputed to chivalrous rashness, the fault of the age. They were unwaried in their exercise of justice, which in the more remote corners of Scotland could only be done at the head of an army; and even where the task was devolved upon the sheriffs and vice-sheriffs of counties, the execution of it required frequent inspection by the king and his high justiciaries, who made circuits for that purpose. The rights of landed property began to be arranged in most of the lowland counties upon the feudal system then universal in Europe, and so far united Scotland with the general system of civilization.

The language which was generally used in Scotland came at length to be English, as the speech of Lothian, the most civilized province of the kingdom, and the readiest in which they could hold communication with their neighbours. It must have been introduced gradu-

ally, as is evident from the numerous Celtic words retained in old statutes and charters, and rendered general by its being the only language used in writing.

We know there was at least one poem composed in English, by a Scottish author, which excited the attention of contemporaries. It is a metrical romance on the subject of Sir Tristrem, by Thomas of Breckelond, who composed it in such " quaint English " as common minstrels could hardly understand or recite by heart. If we may judge of this work from the comparatively modern copy which remains, the style of the composition, brief, nervous, figurative, and concise almost to obscurity, resembles the Norse or Anglo-Saxon poetry more than that of the English minstrels, whose loose, prolix, and trivial mode of composition is called by Chaucer's Host of the Tabard, " draffy rhiming." The structure of the stanza in Sir Tristrem is also very peculiar, elliptical, and complicated, seeming to verify the high eulogy of a poet nearly contemporary, " that it is the best geste ever was or ever would be made, if minstrels could recite as the author had composed it." On the contrary, the elegiac ballad on Alexander III., already mentioned, differs only from modern English in the mode of spelling.

Besides the general introduction of the English language, which spread itself gradually, doubtless, through the more civilized part of the lowlands, the Norman-French was also used at court, which, as we learn from the names of witnesses to royal charters, foundations, &c. was the resort of these foreign nobles. It was also adopted as the language of the coronation oath, which shows it was the speech of the nobles, while the version in Latin seems to have been made for the use of the clergy. The Norman-French also, as specially adapted to express feudal stipulations, was frequently applied to law proceedings.

The political constitution of Scotland had not as yet arranged itself under any peculiar representative form. The king acted by the advice, and sometimes under the control, of a great feudal council or *cour plénière*, to

even the humility of the sainted queen Margaret did not discourage. She and her husband used at meals vessels of gold and silver plate, or, at least, says the candid Turgot, such as were lacquered over so as to have that appearance. Even in the early days of Alexander I., that monarch (with a generosity similar to that of the lover who presented his bride with a case of razors, as what he himself most prized) munificently bestowed on the church of Saint Andrew's an Arabian steed covered with rich caparisons, and a suit of armour ornamented with silver and precious stones, all which he brought to the high altar, and solemnly devoted to the church.

Berwick enjoyed the privileges of a free port; and under Alexander III. the customs of that single Scottish port amounted to £2197"8s., while those of all England only made up the sum of £8411"19"11½. An ancient historian terms that town a second Alexandria.

Lastly, we may notice that the soil was chiefly cultivated by bondsmen; but the institution of royal boroughs had begun considerably to ameliorate the condition of the inferior orders.

Such was the condition of Scotland at the end of the thirteenth century; but we only recognise laws and institutions in those parts of the kingdom to which the king's immediate authority and the influence of the more modern system and manners extended. This was exclusive of the whole Highlands and isles, of Galloway, and Strath-Clyde, till these two last provinces were totally melted into the general mass of lowland or Scottish civilization; and probably the northern provinces of Caithness and Moray were also beyond the limits of regular government. In other words, the improved system prevailed, in whole or in part, only where men, from comparative wealth and convenience of situation, had been taught to prefer the benefits of civilized government to the ferocious and individual freedom of a savage state. The mountaineers, as they did not value the protection of a more regular order of law, despised and hated its restraint. They continued to wear the dress, wield the

relation of the orphan queen, instantly formed the project of extending his regal sway over the northern part of Britain by a marriage betwixt this royal heiress and his only son, Edward prince of Wales. The barons of Scotland testified no dislike to this alliance, the most natural mode, perhaps, to effect an union between two kingdoms, which nature had joined, though untoward events had separated them. The great nobles of that country were, we have seen, Normans as well as the English lords: many held land in both kingdoms; and therefore the idea of an alliance with England was not at that time so unpopular as it afterwards became, when long and bloody wars had rendered the nations irreconcilable enemies. The Scottish took, on the other hand, the most jealous precautions that all the rights and immunities of Scotland, as a separate kingdom, should be upheld and preserved; that Scottishmen born should not be called to answer in England for deeds done in their own country; that the national records should be suffered to remain within the realm; and that no aids of money or levies of troops should be demanded, unless in such cases as were warranted by former usage. These preliminaries were settled between king Edward and a convention of the Scottish estates, held at Birgham, July, 1290. Edward promised all this, and swore to his promise; but an urgent proposal that he should be put in possession of all the Scottish castles alarmed the estates of Scotland, as affording too much cause to doubt whether oath or promise would be much regarded.

In the mean time Margaret, the young heiress of Scotland, died on her voyage to Scotland. A new scene now opened; for by this event the descendants of Alexander III., on whom the crown had been settled in 1284, were altogether extinguished, and the kingdom lay open to the claim of every one, or any one, who could show a collateral connection, however remote, with the royal family of Scotland.

Many pretensions to the throne were accordingly set up; but the chief were those of two great lords of

Norman extraction, Robert Bruce and John Balliol. The latter of these was lord of Galloway, the former of Annandale in Scotland. Their rights of succession stood thus.

William the Lion had a brother David, created earl of Huntingdon, who left three daughters; namely, 1. Margaret, married to Alan, lord of Galloway; 2. Isabella, to Robert Bruce, of Annandale; 3. Ada, to Henry Hastings. John Balliol claimed the kingdom as the son of Devorgoil, daughter of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David: Bruce, on the other hand, claimed as the son of Isabella, the second daughter, pretending that he was thus nearer by one generation to earl David, through whom both the competitors claimed their relationship. The question simply was, whether the right of succession which David of Huntingdon might have claimed whilst alive descended to his grandson Balliol, or was to be held as passing to Bruce, who, though the son of the younger sister, was one degree nearer to the person from whom he claimed, being only the grandson, while Balliol was the great-grandson of earl David, their common ancestor. Modern lawyers would at once pronounce in Balliol's favour; but the precise nature of representation had not then been fixed in Scotland.

Both barons resolved to support their plea with arms. Many other claims, more or less specious, were brought forward. The country of Scotland was divided and subdivided into factions; and in the rage of approaching civil war Edward the first saw the moment when that claim of paramount superiority which had been so pertinaciously adhered to by the English monarchs, though as uniformly refuted by the Scottish, might be brought forward as the means of finally assuming the direct sway of the kingdom. He showed the extent of his ambitious and unjust purpose to his most trusty counsellors. "I will subdue Scotland to my authority," he said, "as I have subdued Wales."

The English monarch, one of the ablest generals and the most subtle and unhesitating politicians of his own

with the players. And there is little doubt that, far from desirous to insist on a claim which would have united all the competitors against him, he was sparing of no art which could embroil the question, by multiplying the number of claimants, and exasperating them against each other.

The candidates, called upon to that effect, solemnly acknowledged Edward's right as lord paramount of Scotland, and submitted their claims to his decision. We shall endeavour to explain hereafter why these Norman nobles were not unwilling to consent to a submission, which, as children of the soil, they would probably have spurned at. The strengths and fortresses of the kingdom were put into the king of England's power, to enable him to support, it was pretended, the award he should pronounce. After these operations had lasted several months, to accustom the Scots to the view of English governors and garrisons in their castles, and to disable them from resisting a foreign force, by the continued disunion which must have increased and become the more embittered the longer the debate was in dependence, Edward I. preferred John Balliol to the Scottish crown, to be held of him and his successors, and surrendered to him the Scottish castles of which he held possession, being twenty in number.

Edward's conduct had hitherto been sufficiently selfish, but, perhaps, not beyond what many prudent persons would permit themselves to consider as just. His pretence to the supremacy, however ill founded, was no invention of his own, but handed down to him as a right which his ancestors had claimed from a very distant period; and as a time had now arrived when the Scottish were prevailed upon to admit it on their side, most sovereigns would have thought it an opportunity not to be sacrificed to the barren considerations of abstract justice. But it was soon evident that the admission of the supremacy was only a part of Edward's object, and that he was determined so to use his right over Balliol as might force either him or Scotland into rebellion, and

give the lord paramount a pretence to seize the revolted
 king of England encouraged vexatious lawsuits against
 Baliol, for compelling his frequent and humiliating ap-
 pearance as a suitor in the English courts of law. A private
 citizen of Berwick having appealed from a judgment of the
 commissioners of justice in Scotland, of which that town
 was then accounted part, Baliol, on this occasion, remon-
 strated against the appeal being entertained, reminding
 Edward that by the conditions sworn to at Birgham
 it was strictly covenanted that no Scottish subject should
 be called in an English court, for acts done in Scotland.
 Edward replied, with haughty indifference and ef-
 frontery, that such a promise was made to suit the
 convenience of the time, and that no such engagements
 could prevent his calling into his courts the Scottish
 king himself, if he should see cause. His vassal,
 he said, should not be his conscience-keeper, to enjoin
 him penance for broken faith; nor would he, for
 any promise he had made to the Scots while treating
 of his son's marriage with Margaret, refrain from distri-
 buting the justice which every subject had a right to
 require at his hands. Baliol could only make peace with
 his imperious master by yielding up all stipulations
 and promises concerning the freedom and immunities
 of Scotland, and admitting them to be discharged and

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annulled.
 Soon after this, Duncan, the earl of Fife, being a
 minor, Macduff, his grand uncle, made a temporary
 seizure of some part of the earldom. Macduff being sum-
 moned to answer this offence before the Scottish estates,
 was condemned by Baliol to a slight imprisonment.
 Released from his confinement, Macduff summoned Baliol
 to appear before Edward, and Edward directed that the
 Scottish king should answer by appearance in person
 before him. He came, but refused to plead. The par-
 liament of England decreed that Baliol was liable to
 Macduff in damages, and for his contumacy in refusing to
 plead before his lord paramount, declared that three prin-

capital towns in Scotland, with their castles, should be taken into the custody of Edward until the king of Scots should make satisfaction. Severe and offensive regulations were laid down concerning the Scottish king's regular attendance in future on the courts of his suzerain in England. In a word, Baliol was made sensible that though he might be suffered for a time to wear sceptre and crown, it was but so long as he should consider himself a mere tool in the hands of a haughty and arbitrary superior, who was determined to fling him aside on the first opportunity, and to put every species of slight and dishonour on his right of delegated majesty till he should become impatient of enduring it. The Scottish king therefore determined to extricate himself from so degrading a position, and to free himself and his country from the thralldom of a foreign usurper. The time seemed apt to the purpose, for discord had arisen betwixt the realms of France and England concerning some feudal rights in which Edward had shown himself as intractable and disobedient a vassal to Philip of France, as he was a severe and domineering superior to Baliol.

5. Catching this favourable opportunity, Baliol formed a

secret treaty of alliance with France, and stood upon his defence. The Scottish nobles joined him in the purpose of resistance, but declined to place Baliol at the head of the preparations which they made for national defence: and having no confidence either in his wisdom or steadiness, they detained him in a kind of honourable captivity in a distant castle, placing their levies under the command of leaders whose patriotism was considered less doubtful.

5. Edward put himself at the head of four thousand horse and thirty thousand infantry, the finest soldiers in Europe, and proceeded towards Northumberland. Anthony Beek, the military bishop of Durham, joined the royal host with a large body of troops. They besieged the town of Berwick, and took it by storm, though gallantly defended. Upwards of 17,000 of the defence-

less inhabitants were slain in the massacre which followed, and the town (a very wealthy one) was entirely plundered. A body of thirty Flemish merchants held a strong building in the town, called the Redhall, by the tenure of defending it against the English: they did so to the last, and honourably perished amid the ruins of the edifice.

Bruce the Competitor, the earl of March, and other Scottish nobles of the south, joined with king Edward, instead of opposing him. The first of these vainly flattered himself that the dethronement of Baliol might be succeeded by his own nomination to the crown, when it should be declared vacant by his rival's forfeiture, and Edward seemed to encourage these hopes. While the English king was still at Berwick, the abbot of Aberbrothock appeared before him with a letter from Baliol, in answer to Edward's summons to him to appear in person, renouncing his vassalage, and expressing defiance. "The foolish traitor!" said the king, "what frenzy has seized him? But since he will not come to us, we will go to him."

Edward's march northward was stopped by the strong castle of Dunbar, which was held out against him by the countess of March, who had joined the lords that declared for the cause of independence, although the earl, her husband, was serving in the English army: so much were the Scots divided on this momentous occasion. Whilst Edward pressed the siege of this important place, the inner gate, as it might be termed, of Scotland, a large force appeared on the descent of the ridge of the Lamermoor hills, above the town. It was the Scottish army moving to the relief of Dunbar, and on the appearance of their banners the defenders raised a shout of exultation and defiance. But when Warrenne, earl of Surrey, Edward's general, advanced towards the Scottish army, the Scots, with a rashness which often ruined their affairs before and afterwards, poured down from the advantageous post which they occupied, and incurred by their

which constitute the degrading roll of submission to Edward I. It must be generally allowed, that men of property, who have much to lose, are more likely to submit to tyranny and invasion than the poor peasant, who has but his knife and his mantle, and whose whole wealth is his individual share in the freedom and independence of the nation. But this will scarce account for the marks of vacillation and apostasy too visible in the Scottish nobility of this period, in these days of chivalry, when men piqued themselves on holding life in mean regard compared to the slightest and most punctilious point of honour. The following circumstances here suggest themselves in explanation of the remarkable fact.

The nobility of Scotland during the civil wars had, by the unvarying policy of Malcolm Cean-mohr and his successors, come to consist almost entirely of a race foreign to the country, who were not bound to it or to the people by those kindred ties which connect the native with the soil he inhabits, as the same which has been for ages perhaps the abode of his fathers. Two or three generations had not converted Normans into Scots; and, whatever allegiance the emigrated strangers might yield to the monarchs who bestowed on them their fiefs, it must have been different from the sentiments of filial attachment with which men regard the land of their birth and that of their ancestors, and the princes by whose fathers their own had been led to battle, and with whom they had shared conquest and defeat.

In fact, the Normans were neither by birth nor manners rendered accessible to the emotions which constitute patriotism. Their ancestors were those Scandi-navians who left without reluctance their native north in search of better settlements, and spread their sails to the winds, like the voluntary exile of modern times, little caring to what shores they were watted, so that they were not driven back to their own. The education of the Normans of the thirteenth century had not incultured that love of a natal soil, which they could not learn

From their roving fathers of the preceding ages. They were, above all nations, devoted to chivalry, and its doctrines and habits were unfavourable to local attachment. The ideal perfection of the knight-errant was to wander from land to land in quest of adventures, to win renown, to gain earldoms, kingdoms, nay empires, by the sword, and to sit down a settler on his acquisitions, without looking back to the land which gave him life. This indifference to his native country was taught the aspirant to the honours of chivalry by early separation of the ties which bind youth to their parents and families. The progress of his military education separated him when a boy from his parents' house, and sending him to learn the institutions of chivalry in the court of some foreign prince or lord, early destroyed those social ties which bind a man to his family and birth-place. When dubbed knight, the gallant bachelor found a home in every tourney or battle-field, and a settlement in whatever kingdom of the world valour was best rewarded. The true knight-errant was, therefore, a cosmopolite—a citizen of the world: every soil was his country, and he was indifferent to feelings and prejudices which promote in others patriotic attachment to a particular country.

The feudal system also, though the assertion may at first sight appear strange, had, until lately, been rendered hereditary, circumstances unfavourable to loyalty and patriotism. A vassal might, and often did, hold fiefs in more realms than one; a division of allegiance tending to prevent the sense of duty or loyal attachment running strongly in any of their single channels. Nay, he might, and many did, possess fiefs depending on the separate kings of France, England, and Scotland, and thus being, to a certain extent, the subject of all these princes, he could hardly look on any of them with peculiar attachment, unless it were created by personal respect or preference. When war broke out betwixt any of the princes whom he depended upon, the feudatory debated with himself to which standard he should adhere, and shook himself clear of his allegiance to the other militant power

by resigning the fief. The possibility of thus changing country and masters, this habit of serving a prince only so long as the vassal held fief under him, led to loose and irregular conceptions on the subject of loyalty, and gave the feudatory more the appearance of a mercenary who serves for pay than of a patriot fighting in defence of his country. This consequence may be drawn from the frequent compliances and change of parties visible in the Scottish barons, and narrated without much censure by the historians. Lastly, the reader may observe that the great feudatories, who seemed to consider themselves as left to choose to which monarch they should attach themselves, were less regardful of the rights of England and Scotland, or of foreigners and native princes, than of the personal talents and condition of the two kings. In attaching themselves to Edward instead of Baliol, the high vassals connected themselves with valour instead of timidity, wealth instead of poverty, and conquest instead of defeat. Such indifference to the considerations arising from patriotism and such individual attention to their own interest being the characteristic of the Scoto-Norman nobles, it is no wonder that many of them took but a lukewarm share in the defence of their country, and that some of them were guilty of shameful versatility during the quickly changing scenes which we are about to narrate. It was different with the Scottish nation at large.

Exasperated by the continually thrown on the country, by the aggressions of the English garrisons, and the ex-tortions of Cressingham the treasurer, a general hatred of the English yoke was manifested through a people, who, being in a semi-barbarous state, were willing enough to exchange a disgraceful submission for an honourable though desperate warfare. The Scots assembled in troops and companies, and betaking themselves to the woods, mountains, and morasses, in which their fathers had defended themselves against the Romans, prepared for a general insurrection against the English power.

If the Scoto-Norman nobles had lightly transferred

their allegiance to Edward, it was otherwise with the middle and lower proprietors, who, sprung of the native race of Scotland, mingling in the condition of the people, and participating in their feeling, burnt with zeal to avenge themselves on the English, who were in usurped possession of their national fortresses. As soon as Edward with his army had crossed the frontiers, they broke out into a number of petty insurrections, unconnected indeed, but sufficiently numerous to indicate a disposition for hostilities, which wanted but a leader to render it general. They found one in sir William Wallace.

This champion of his country was of Anglo-Norman descent, but not so distinguished by birth and fortune as to enjoy high rank, great wealth, or participate in that chilling indifference to the public honour and interest which these advantages were apt to create in their possessor. He was born in Renfrewshire, a district of the ancient kingdom of Strath-Clyde, and his nurse may have soothed him with tales and songs of the Welsh bards, as there is room to suppose that the British language was still lingering in remote corners of the country, where it had been once universal. At any rate, Wallace was bred up free from the egotistic and selfish principles which are but too natural to the air of a court, and peculiarly unfavourable to the character of a patriot. Popular Scottish tradition, which delights to dwell upon the beloved champion of the people, describes William Wallace as of dignified stature, unequalled strength and dexterity, and so brave, that only on one occasion, and then under the influence of a supernatural power, is he allowed by tradition to have experienced the sensation of fear.

Wallace is believed to have been proclaimed an outlaw for the slaughter of an Englishman in a casual fray. He retreated to the woods, collected round him a band of men as desperate as himself, and obtained several successes in skirmishes with the English. Joined by sir William Douglas, who had been taken at the siege of

Berwick, but had been discharged upon ransom, the insurgents compelled Edward to send an army against them, under the earl of Surrey, the victor of Dunbar. Several of the nobility, moved by Douglas's example, had joined Wallace's standard; but overawed at the approach of the English army, and displeased to act under a man, like Wallace, of comparatively obscure birth, they capitulated with sir Henry Percy, the nephew of Surrey, and, in one word, changed sides. Wallace kept the field at the head of a considerable army, partly consisting of his own experienced followers, partly of the smaller barons or crown tenants, and partly of vassals even of the apostate lords, and volunteers of every condition. By the exertion of much conduct and resolution, Wallace had made himself master of the country beyond Forth, and taken several castles, when he was summoned to Stirling to oppose Surrey, the English governor of Scotland. Wallace encamped on the northern side of the river, leaving Stirling bridge apparently open to the English, but resolving, as it was long and narrow, to attack them while in the act of crossing. The earl of Surrey led fifty thousand infantry, and a thousand men at arms. Part of his soldiers, however, were the Scottish barons who had formerly joined Wallace's standard, and who, notwithstanding their return to that of Surrey, were scarcely to be trusted to.

The English treasurer, Cressingham, murmured at the expence attending the war, and to bring it to a crisis proposed to commence an attack the next morning by crossing the river. Surrey, an experienced warrior, hesitated to engage his troops in the defile of a wooden bridge, where scarce two horsemen could ride abreast; but, urged by the imprudent vehemence of Cressingham, he advanced, contrary to common sense, as well as to his own judgment. The vanguard of the English was attacked before they could get into order; the bridge was broken down, and thousands perished in the river and by the sword. Cressingham was slain, and Surrey fled to Berwick on the spur, to recount to Edward that

Scotland was lost at Stirling in as short a time as it had been won at Dunbar. In a brief period after this victory almost all the forresses of the kingdom surrendered to Wallace.

Increasing his forces, Wallace, that he might gratify them with plunder, led them across the English border, and sweeping it lengthwise from Newcastle to the gates of Carlisle, left nothing behind him but blood and ashes. The nature of Wallace was fierce, but not inaccessible to pity or remorse. As his unruly soldiers pillaged the church of Hexham, he took the canons under his immediate protection. "Abide with me," he said, "holy men; for my people are evil-doers, and I may not correct them."

When he returned from this successful foray, an assembly of the states was held at the Forest church in Selkirkshire, where Wallace was chosen guardian of the kingdom of Scotland. The meeting was attended by Lennox, sir William Douglas, and some few men of rank: others were absent from fear of king Edward, or from jealousy of an inferior person, like Wallace, raised to so high a station.

Conscious of the interest which he had deservedly maintained in the breast of the universal people of Scotland, Wallace pursued his judicious plans of enforcing general levies through the kingdom, and bringing them under discipline. It was full time, for Edward was moving against them.

The English monarch was absent in Flanders when these events took place, and what was still more inconvenient, before he could gain supplies from his parliament to suppress the Scottish revolt, Edward found himself obliged to confirm Magna Charta, the charter of the forest, and other stipulations in favour of the people; the English being prudently though somewhat selfishly disposed to secure their own freedom before they would lend their swords to destroy that of their neighbours.

Complying with these demands, Edward, on his return from the Low Countries, found himself at the head of a

lanxes or dense masses, with lances lowered obliquely over each other, and seeming, says an English historian, like a castle walled with steel. These spear-men were the flower of the army, in whom Wallace chiefly confided. He commanded them in person, and used the brief exhortation, "I have brought you to the ring; dance as you best can."

The Scottish archers, under command of sir John Stewart, brother of the steward of Scotland, were drawn up in the intervals between the masses of infantry. They were chiefly brought from the wooded district of Selkirk. We hear of no Highland bowmen amongst them. The cavalry, which only amounted to one thousand men at arms, held the rear.

The English cavalry began the action. The marshal of England led half of the men at arms straight upon the Scottish front, but in doing so involved them in the morass. The bishop of Durham, who commanded the other division of the English cavalry, was wheeling round the morass on the east, and perceiving this misfortune, became disposed to wait for support. "To mass, bishop!" said Ralph Basset of Drayton, and charged with the whole body. The Scottish men at arms went off without couching their lances; but the infantry stood their ground firmly. In the turmoil that followed, sir John Stewart fell from his horse, and was slain among the archers of Etrick, who died in defending or avenging him. The close bodies of Scottish spear-men, now exposed without means of defence or retaliation, were shaken by the constant showers of arrows; and the English men at arms finally charging them desperately while they were in disorder, broke and dispersed these formidable masses. The Scots were then completely routed, and it was only the neighbouring woods which saved a remnant from the sword. The body of Stewart was found among those of his faithful archers, who were distinguished by their stature and fair complexions from all others with which the field was loaded. Macduff and sir John the Grahame, "the hardy wight and

was encouraged to publish a bull, claiming Scotland as a dependency on the see of Rome, because the country had been converted to Christianity by the reliques of Saint Andrew, although how the premises authorized the conclusion it is difficult to discover. The pope in the same document took the claim of Edward to the Scottish crown under his own discussion, and authoritatively commanded Edward I. to send proctors to Rome, to plead his cause before his holiness. This magisterial requisition was presented by the archbishop of Canterbury to the king, in the presence of the council and court, the prelate at the same time warning the sovereign to yield unreserved obedience, since Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and Mount Zion her worshippers. "Neither for Zion nor Jerusalem," said Edward, in towering wrath, "will I depart from my just rights, while there is breath in my nostrils." Accordingly he caused the pope's bull to be laid before the parliament of England, who unanimously resolved, "that in temporals the king of England was independent of Rome, and that they would not permit his sovereignty to be questioned." Their declaration concludes with these remarkable words:—"We neither do, will, nor can permit our sovereign to do any thing to the detriment of the constitution which we are both sworn to, and are determined to maintain." A spirited assertion of national right, had it not been in so bad a cause as that of Edward's claim of usurpation over Scotland.

Meantime the war languished during this strange discussion, from which the pope was soon obliged to retreat. There was an inefficient campaign in 1299 and 1300. In 1301 there was a truce, in which Scotland as well as France was included. After the expiry of this breathing space, Edward I., in the spring of 1302, sent an army into Scotland of twenty thousand men, under sir John Seward, a renowned general. He marched towards Edinburgh in three divisions, leaving large intervals between each. While in this careless order, Seward's vanguard found themselves suddenly within reach of a

small but chosen body of troops, amounting to eight thousand men, commanded by sir John Comyn, the guardian, and a gallant Scottish knight, sir Simon Fraser. Seward was defeated; but the battle was scarce over when his second division came up. The Scots, flushed with victory, re-established their ranks, and having cruelly put to death their prisoners, attacked and defeated the second body also. The third division came up in the same manner. Again it became necessary to kill the captives, and to prepare for a third encounter. The Scottish leaders did so without hesitation, and their followers having thrown themselves furiously on the enemy, discomfited that division likewise, and gained, as their historians boast, three battles in one day.

But the period seemed to be approaching in which neither courage nor exertion could longer avail the unfortunate people of Scotland. A peace with France, in which Philip the Fair totally omitted all stipulations in favour of his allies, left the kingdom to its own inadequate means of resistance, while Edward directed his whole force against it. The castle of Brechin, under the gallant sir Thomas Maule, made an obstinate resistance. He was mortally wounded, and died in an exclamation of rage against the soldiers, who asked if they might not then surrender the castle. Edward wintered at Dunfermline, and began the next campaign with the siege of Stirling, the only fortress in the kingdom that still held out. But the courage of the guardians altogether gave way; they set the example of submission, and such of them as had been most obstinate in what the English king called rebellion, were punished by various degrees of fine and banishment. With respect to sir William Wallace, it was agreed that he might have the choice of surrendering himself unconditionally to the king's pleasure, provided he thought proper to do so; a stipulation which, as it signified nothing in favour of the person for whom it was apparently conceived, must be imputed as a pretext on the part of the Scottish nobles to save themselves from the disgrace of having left Wallace altogether unthought of. Some

attempts were made to ascertain what sort of accommodation Edward was likely to enter into with the bravest and most constant of his enemies; but the demands of Wallace were large, and the generosity of Edward very small. The English king broke off the treaty, and put a price of 300 marks on the head of the patriot.

Meantime Stirling castle continued to be defended by a slender garrison, and, deprived of all hopes of relief, continued to make a desperate defence, under its brave governor, sir William Oliphant, until famine and despair compelled him to an unconditional surrender, when the king imposed the harshest terms on this handful of brave men.

But what Edward prized more than the surrender of the last fortress which resisted his arms in Scotland, was the captivity of her last patriot. He had found in a Scottish nobleman, sir John Monteith, a person willing to become his agent in searching for Wallace among the wilds where he was driven to find refuge. Wallace was finally betrayed to the English by his unworthy and apostate countryman, who obtained an opportunity of seizing him at Robroyston, near Glasgow, by the treachery of a servant. Sir William Wallace was instantly transferred to London, where he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, with as much apparatus of infamy as the ingenuity of his enemies could devise. He was crowned with a garland of oak, to intimate that he had been king of outlaws. The arraignment charged him with high treason, in respect that he had stormed and taken towns and castles, and shed much blood. "Traitor," said Wallace, "was I never." The rest of the charges he confessed, and proceeded to justify them. He was condemned, and executed by decapitation. His head was placed on a pinnacle on London bridge, and his quarters were distributed over the kingdom.

Thus died this courageous patriot, leaving a remembrance which will be immortal in the hearts of his countrymen. This steady champion of independence ! aving

didate. He retired to his English estates, and lived there in such security as the times admitted. His son did not take much concern in public affairs; but the grandson early evinced a desire of distinction, which showed itself in active bursts of sudden enterprise, which were directed in a manner so inconsistent, and taken up and abandoned with so much apparent levity, as to afford little prospect of his possessing the strength of character and vigour of determination which he afterwards exhibited under such a variety of adventures, disastrous or prosperous.

Robert Bruce was put in possession of the earldom of Carrick by the resignation of his father in 1293. About this time Baliol, king of Scotland, declared war against England; but none of the Bruce family joined him on that occasion. They continued to regard their own chief the elder Bruce's title to the crown as more just than that of Baliol. The eldest Bruce, indeed, as we have just noticed, nourished hopes that Edward would have preferred him to the crown on the deposition of his rival; but checked by the scornful answer of the monarch, that he had other business than conquering kingdoms for him, he retired to his great Yorkshire possessions, yielding his Scottish estates to the charge of his grandson, who showed at this early period, when a youth of two or three-and-twenty, a bold, bustling, and ambitious, but versatile disposition of mind. He had a natural spirit of ill-will against the great family of Comyn, because John Comyn of Badenoch had married Marjory, the sister of John Baliol. So that when Baliol's title was ended by his resignation, and the foreign residence and youth of his son placed him out of the question, John, called the Red Comyn, the son of John Comyn of Badenoch and Marjory Baliol, had, through his mother, the same title to the throne as that which had been preferred on the part of John Baliol: and the Comyns' claim, as Baliol's, in the last generation, then stood in direct opposition to that on which the Bruces rested as descendants from Isabella, second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon.

brother, Nigel Bruce, was sent to conduct the queen and her attendants back to Aberdeenshire, where his brother was still master of a strong castle, called *Kildrummie*, which might serve them for some time as a place of refuge. We shall afterwards give some account of their evil fortune.

As Bruce and his band had in their retreat before *Macdougall* fallen down considerably to the southward of *Dalry*, where they had sustained their late defeat, *Loch Lomond* was now interposed betwixt them and the province of *Cantire* and the western coast. A little boat, capable of carrying only three men at once, was the only means to be found for the purpose of passing over two hundred persons. To divert his attendants during this tiresome ferry, the Bruce amused them with reading the adventures of *Peramboras*, a fabulous hero of a metrical romance; a legend in which they might find encouragement to patience under difficulties scarcely more romantic than those which they themselves were subjected to.

On the banks of *Loch Lomond* Bruce met with the earl of *Lennox*, who, wandering there for protection, discovered the king was in his neighbourhood, by hearing a bugle sounded with an art which he knew to be peculiar to his master. They met, embraced, and wept. By the guidance and assistance of *Lennox*, Bruce reached the province of *Cantire*, then subject to Angus, called *Lord of the Isles*. Here the king met with sir *Neil Campbell*, who had gone before him to propitiate this powerful *Highland* prince, whose favour was the more easily obtained that he was unfriendly to *John Macdougall* of *Lorn*, the personal enemy of *Robert Bruce*. This Angus was also the descendant of the renowned *Somerled*, and head of the sept of the *Macdonalds*, the most powerful scion of those original Scots who colonized *Argyleshire* under *Fergus*, the son of *Eric*, and who, seated in *Cantire*, *Islay*, and the other western islands, had, since the death of *Alexander III.*, nearly shaken off subordination to the crown of Scotland,

and paid as little respect to the English claim upon their

supremacy.

Though Bruce was received by the Lord of the Isles with kindness and hospitality, he was probably sensible that his residence on or near the mainland of Scotland might draw down on his protector the vengeance of Edward, against whom the insular prince could not have offered an effectual defence. He therefore resolved to bury himself in the remote island of Ràchrin, on the coast of Ireland, a rude and half-desolate islet, but inhabited by the clan of Macdonalds, and subject to their friendly lord. By this retreat he effected his purpose of secluding himself from the jealous researches made after him by the adherents of the English monarch, and the feudal hatred of John of Lorn. Here Bruce continued to lurk in concealment during the winter of 1306.

In the meantime his friends and adherents in Scotland suffered all the miseries which the rage of an exasperated and victorious sovereign could inflict. His wife and his daughter were taken forcibly from the sanctuary of Saint Duthac, at Tain, and consigned to the severities of separate English prisons, where they remained for eight years. The countess of Buchan, who had placed the crown on the Bruce's head, was immured in a place of confinement constructed expressly for her reception on the towers of the castle of Berwick, where the sight of her prison might make her the subject of wonder or scorn to all that passed. The bishop of Saint Andrews, the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, taken in arms, were imprisoned by Edward, who applied to the pope for their degradation, in which, however, he did not succeed. Nigel Bruce, a gallant and beautiful as well as highly-accomplished youth, held out his brother's castle of Kildrummy till a traitor in the garrison set fire to the principal magazine, when surrender became inevitable. He was tried, condemned, and executed. Christopher Seaton, who so gallantly rescued the Bruce at the battle of Methven, shared with

his brother-in-law the same melancholy fate. The vengeance of Edward did not spare his own blood. The earl of Athol had some relationship with the royal family of England; but the circumstance having been pleaded in favour of the earl, Edward only gave so much weight to it as to assign him the distinction of a gallows fifty feet high.

Simon Fraser, one of the commanders at the victory of Roslin (the other being the unfortunate John Comyn), still disdained to surrender, and continued in arms, till being defeated at a place called Kirkcubright, he was finally made prisoner, exposed to the people of London loaded with fetters, crowned with a garland in mockery, and executed with all the studied cruelty of the treason law. The citizens were taught to believe that demons with iron hooks were seen ramping on the gibbets among the dismembered limbs of these unfortunate men, as they were exposed upon the bridge of London. The inference was, that the fiends were, in like manner employed in tormenting the souls of men whose crimes, in so far as we know them, were summed up in their endeavours to defend their country from a foreign yoke.

To add to the disastrous deaths of his friends and associates, the fate of Bruce personally seemed utterly destitute. He was forfeited by the English government as a man guilty of murder and sacrilege, and his large estates, extending from Galloway to the Solway frith, were bestowed on different English nobles, of which sir Henry Percy and lord Robert Clifford had the greatest share. A formal sentence of excommunication was at the same time pronounced against him by the papal legate, with all the terrific pomp with which Rome knows how to volley her thunders.

Thus closed the year 1306 upon Scotland. The king, lurking in an obscure isle beyond the verge of his dominions, an outlawed man, deprived at once of all civil and religious rights, and expelled from the privileges of a Christian, in as far as Rome had power to

effect it; the heads and limbs of his best and bravest adherents, men like Seaton and Fraser, who had upheld the cause of their country through every species of peril, blackening in the sun on the walls of their own native cities, or garrisoning those of their vindictive enemy. But in these, as in similar cases, Heaven frequently sends assistance when man seems without hope, as the darkest hour of the night is often that which precedes the dawning.

CHAP. IX.

BRUCE RETURNS TO SCOTLAND, TAKES IN ARMS, AND TAKES FROM THENCE TO ALEXANDRIA. — ALLIES OF HIS ADHERENTS JACOB DOUGLAS. — CAPTIVITY AND EXPIATION OF RALPH BROTHERS, THOMAS AND ALEXANDER. — THE ENGLISH TAKE GREAT ADVANTAGE. — BRUCE'S DEFEAT AT BATTLE OF BURNHAMTHORPE. — BRUCE'S DEFEAT OF THE LORD OF LOUDOUN AT CREVENKESS. — DEFEAT OF THE LORD OF LOUDOUN AT CREVENKESS. — BRUCE AND HIS FOLLOWERS GO TO FOWARD CASTLE WITH THE REMAINS OF BRUCE AND THE SCOTISH CLERGY AND PEOPLE. — INSTANT ATTACK OF EDWARD TO INVADE SCOTLAND. — BRUCE RALLIES THE ENGLISH LORDS TAKING PART. — ROXBURGH CASTLE BESIEGED BY EDWARD. THIS BURN BY HAMBROTH, EXTINGUISHED BY EDWARD. — THE ISLE OF MAN SEIZED BY BRUCE. — THE GOVERNOR OF STRILING AGREES TO SURRENDER THE PLACE IF NOT RELIEVED BEFORE MIDSUMMER. — BRUCE IS DISPLEASED WITH HIS BROTHERS EDWARD FOR ACCEPTING THESE TERMS, BUT RESOLVES TO ABIDE BY THEM. — KING EDWARD MAKES LONG JOURNALS PREPARATIONS TO RELIEVE STRILING.

With the return of spring, hope and the spirit of enterprise again inspired the dauntless heart of Robert Bruce. He made a descent on the isle of Arran, with the view of passing from thence to the Scottish main land. A faithful vassal in his earldom of Carrick engaged to watch when a landing could be made with some proba-

bility of success, and intimate the opportunity to Bruce. The signal agreed upon was a fire to be lighted by the vassal on the cape or headland beneath Turnberry castle, upon seeing which it was resolved Bruce should embark with his men. The light long watched for at length appeared; but it had not been kindled by Bruce's confidant. The king sailed to the main land without hesitation, and was astonished to find his emissary watching on the beach, to tell him the fire was accidental, the English were reinforced, the people divided, and there was nothing to be attempted with a prospect of success. Robert Bruce hesitated; but his brother Edward, a man of courage which reached to temerity, protested that he would not go again to sea, but being thus arrived in his native country, would take the good or evil destiny which Heaven might send him. Robert himself was easily persuaded to adopt the same bold counsel; and a sudden attack upon a part of the English who were quartered in the town gave them victory and a rich booty, as Percy, who lay in the castle, did not venture to sally to the relief of his men.

This advantage was followed by others. It seemed as if fortune had exhausted her spite on the dauntless adventurer, or that Heaven regarded him as having paid an ample penance for the slaughter of Comyn.

Bruce was joined by friends and followers, and the English were compelled to keep their garrisons; until sir Henry Percy, instead of making head against the invader, deemed it necessary to evacuate Turnberry castle, and retreat to England. James Douglas penetrated into his own country in disguise, and collecting some of his ancient followers, surprised the English garrison placed by lord Clifford in Douglas castle, and putting the garrison to the sword, mingled the mangled bodies with a large stock of provisions which the English had amassed, and set fire to the castle. The countrypeople to this day call this exploit the Douglas's larder.

The efforts of Bruce were not uniformly successful.

Two of his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, had landed in Galloway, but were defeated and made prisoners by Roland Macdougall, a chief of that country who was devoted to Edward. He sent the unfortunate brothers to Edward, who executed them both, and became thus accountable to Bruce for the death of three of his brethren. This accident rendered the king's condition more precarious than it had been, and encouraged the Gallvidians to make many attempts against his person, in some of which they made use of bloodhounds. At one time he escaped so narrowly, that his banner was taken, and, as it happened, by his own nephew, Thomas Randalph, then employed in the ranks of the English. When pressed upon on this and similar occasions, it was the custom of Bruce to elude the efforts of the enemy by dispersing his followers, who, each shifting for himself, knew where to meet again at some place of rendezvous, and often surprised and put to the sword some part of the enemy which were lying in full assurance of safety.

At length, after repeated actions and a long series of marching and counter-marching, Pembroke was forced to abandon Ayrshire to the Bruce, as Percy had done before him. Douglas on his part was successful in Lanarkshire, and the numerous patriots resumed the courage which they had possessed under Wallace. A battle was fought at Loudoun-hill, in consequence of an express appointment, between Bruce and his old enemy the earl of Pembroke, who was returning to the west with considerable reinforcements, the 10th of May, 1307, in which the Scottish king completely avenged the defeat at Methven. Pembroke fled to Ayr, in which place of refuge the earl of Gloucester was also forced to seek safety. By these and similar skirmishes, in which his perfect knowledge of the principles of partisan warfare enabled him to take every advantage afforded by the excellence of his intelligence arising from the good will of the country, or by circumstances of ground, wear, weapons, and the like, the Scottish king gradually

accustomed his men to repose so much confidence in his skill and wisdom, that his orders for battle were regarded as a call to assured victory. He himself, James Douglas, and others among his followers, displayed at the same time all that personal and chivalrous valour, which the manners of the age demanded of a leader, and which often restored a battle when well nigh lost. It was to these latter qualities also, as well as to precaution and sagacity, that Bruce was indebted for his escape from several treacherous attempts to take away his life, by the friends of the slaughtered Comyn, or the adherents of the king of England. Several of such assassins were slain by Robert with his own hand; and a general opinion, long suppressed by the former course of adverse events, began to be entertained through Scotland, that Heaven, in the hour of utmost need, had raised up in the heir of the Scottish throne a prince destined by providence to deliver his country, and that no weapon forged against him should prosper.

The gradual and increasing reputation of Bruce, the renown of his exploits, the talents which his conduct proved him to possess, reached the ears of Edward the first more and more frequently, and stung the aged sovereign with the most acute sense of wounded pride and mortified ambition. In fulfilment of his romantic vow to heaven and the swans, Edward had advanced as far as Carlisle, to open his proposed campaign against the Scots, but had been detained there during the whole winter by the wasting effects of a dysentery. As the season of action approached, and the rumours of Bruce's success increased, the king persuaded himself that resentment would restore him the strength which age and disease had impaired. It was indeed a mortifying condition in which he found himself. For the space of nineteen or twenty years the conquest of Scotland had been the darling object of his thoughts and plans. It had cost him the utmost exertion of his bold and crafty faculties—blood had been shed without measure—wealth lavished without stint, to accomplish this darling plan; and now, when it was at last

abated his strength and energies, he was doomed to see from his sick-bed the hills of Scotland, while he knew that they were still free. As if endeavouring to restore by a strong effort of the mind the falling strength of his body, he declared himself recovered, hung up in the cathedral the horse-litter, in which he had hitherto travelled, but which he conceived he should need no longer, and, mounting his war-horse, proceeded northward. It was too forced an effort to be continued long. Edward only reached the village of Burgh on the Sands, and expired there on the 7th July, 1307. On his death-bed, his thoughts were entirely on the Scottish affairs: he made his son swear that he would prosecute the war without truce or breathing-space; he repeated the strange injunction, that his flesh being boiled from his bones, the latter should be transported at the head of the army with which he was about to invade Scotland, and never be restored to the tomb till that obstinate nation was entirely subdued. By way of corollary to this singular precept, the dying king bequeathed his heart to be sent to the Holy Land, in whose defence he had once fought.

Edward the second, the feeble yet headstrong successor of the most sagacious and resolute of English princes, neglected the extraordinary direction of the dying monarch respecting the disposal of his body, which he caused to be interred at Westminster (by which means the bones of Edward I. probably escaped falling into Scottish custody); and naming first the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, in his room, to be guardian of Scotland, he himself found it more agreeable to hasten back to share the pleasures of London with Gaveston and his other minions, than to undertake the difficult and laborious task of subduing Bruce and his hardy associates.

The English guardian, however, did his duty, and soon assembled a force so superior to that of Bruce, that the king thought it necessary to shift the war into the northern parts of Scotland, where the enemy could not be so suddenly reinforced. He left the indefatigable

James of Douglas to carry on the war in the wooded and mountainous district of Etrick forest.

In Aberdeenshire king Robert was joined by sir Alexander and sir Simon Fraser, sons of the gallant hero of Roslin. But he was opposed by Comyn, earl of Buchan, who to party hatred added an eager desire to revenge the death of his kinsman slain by Bruce. The time seemed favourable for his purpose, for Bruce was at this time afflicted with a lingering and wasting distemper, which impaired his health and threatened his life. In this condition, he thought it wise to retreat before the earl of Buchan, who at length pressed so closely on his rear as to beat up their quarters in the town of Old Meldrum, and cause some loss. "These folks will work a cure on me," said Bruce, starting from the litter which he had been of late compelled to use; and rushing into battle, though obliged to be supported in his saddle, he was so actively seconded by his troops, that he totally defeated the earl of Buchan; and in reward for the pertinacity with which that lord had pursued him, he ravaged his country so severely, that the *herrying* of Buchan was the subject of lamentation for a hundred years afterwards, and traces of the devastation may be even yet seen.

After this action sir David de Brechin, the Bruce's nephew, who had formerly taken part with the earl of Buchan, is said to have joined his uncle; yet in 1312, nearly three years afterwards, we find him again employed by Edward; so sudden were changes of party in these unsettled times, even among men who held a high character for faith and honour.* The citizens of Aberdeen also declared in Bruce's favour, and adding acts to professions, stormed and took the castle, and expelled the English garrison. The citadel of Forfar was also taken, and both fortresses were demolished by order of Bruce; a course of policy which he always observed, because, as the English were more skilful in the attack and defence of fortified places, the existence of such afforded

* In the *Notule Scotiæ*, as quoted by Mr. Tytler, Edward employs David de Brechin as joint warden with Montethel — See Tytler's History, vol. i. p. 168. and compare with p. 289.

them facilities both in gaining and securing their possessions in Scotland, which could not have existed if the country had been open and not commanded by

citadels or castles.

While victory thus attended his own banners in the north of Scotland, king Robert despatched parties of his followers, under his best leaders, to spread the insurrection into other districts, and by diverting the attention of the English invaders, prevent them from assembling a large force and finishing the war by a single blow, as at Dunbar and Falkirk. Edward Bruce fought and won several actions against the English in Galloway, as well as against the natives of that barbarous country, who had always taken part against the Bruce's interest. He gained these successes through exertion of a reckless courage which defied all the usual calculations of prudence. At length, after a severe defeat given to the native chiefs and their southern allies on the banks of the Dee, June 29, 1308, Edward expelled the English entirely from Galloway, and brought that rude province into submission to his brother.

Douglas again retook and dismantled his own fortress of Douglas, upon which he had now made three attacks, two of which were completely successful. He then proceeded to scour the hills of Tweeddale and the forest of Etrick. In reconnoitring the country on the small river of Lync, the Douglas approached a house, in which a spy whom he sent forward heard men talking loudly, one of whom used the "devil's name" as an oath or adjuration. Conjecturing they must be soldiers who dared make familiar use of so formidable a phrase, Douglas caused his attendants to beset the house, and made prisoners therein Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, and Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, both of whom, since the battle of Methven, had adhered to the English interest. They were well treated, and sent to the king, who gently rebuked Randolph for breach of allegiance. "It is you," said the haughty young warrior, "who degrade your own cause by trust-

perfect, feeble, hastily assumed, and laid aside without apparent reason. At one time he put his faith in William de Lambyrton, the archbishop of Saint Andrew's, whom his father had cast into prison. This prelate being liberated and pensioned by the second Edward, volunteered his services to promulgate the bull of excommunication against Robert Bruce: but if the bull had made but slight impression on the Scots during the king's adversity, it met with still less regard when the splendour of repeated success disposed his countrymen in general to blot from their remembrance the deed of violence with which so brilliant a career had commenced. The death of John Comyn was but like a morning cloud which is forgotten in the blaze of a summer noon.

The king of France, who had deserted the Scots in their utmost need, now began to be once more an intercessor in their behalf; and the English king consented to offer a truce to Bruce and his adherents; but the Scots, on their part, required payment of a sum of money before they would grant one. Edward's measures showed a predominance of weakness and uncertainty. Commissions to six different governors were granted and recalled before any of those appointed had time to act upon them. General musters of forces were ordered, which the haughty barons of England obeyed or neglected at their pleasure. All showed the marks of a feeble and vacillating government, unwilling to resign the kingdom of Scotland, yet incapable of adopting the active and steady measures by which alone it could have been preserved.

All public measures in Scotland, on the other hand, were marked by the steadiness of conscious superiority which they borrowed from the character of their sovereign. The estates of the kingdom solemnly declared the award of Edward adjudging the crown of Scotland to John Baliol was an injustice to the grandfather of Bruce. They recognised the deceased lord of Auman-dale as the true heir of the crown, owned his grandson

as their king, and denounced the doom of treason against all who should dispute his right to the crown. The clergy of the kingdom issued a spiritual charge to their various flocks, acknowledging Bruce as their sovereign, in spite of the thunders of excommunication which had been launched against him.

At length, in 1310, Edward, roused into action, assembled a large army at Berwick, and entered Scotland, but too late in the year for any effective purpose. Bruce was contented with eluding the efforts of the invaders to bring on a general battle, cutting off their provisions, harassing their marches, and augmenting the distress and danger of an invading army in a country at once hostile and desolate; and by this policy the patience of Edward and the supplies of his army were altogether exhausted. A second, a third, a fourth expedition was attempted with equally indifferent success. What mischief the Scots might sustain by these irruptions was fearfully compensated by the retaliation of king Robert, who ravaged the English frontiers with pitiless severity. The extreme sufferings of Bruce himself, of his family and his country, called loudly for retaliation, which was thus rendered excusable, if not meritorious. The Scots obtained money as well as other plunder on these occasions; for, after abiding fifteen days in England, the northern provinces found it necessary to purchase their retreat.

King Robert left the borders to present himself before Perth, which was well fortified, and held out by an English garrison. In one place the moat was so shallow that it might be waded. On that point Bruce made a daring attack. Having previously thrown the garrison off their guard by a pretended retreat, he appeared suddenly before the town at the head of a chosen storming party. He himself led the way, completely armed, bearing a scaling ladder in his hand, waded through the moat where the water reached to his chin, and was the second man who mounted the wall. A French knight, who was with the Scottish army, at the sight of this

daring action, exclaimed, "Oh heaven! what shall we say of the delicacy of our French lords, when we see so gallant a king hazard his person to win such a paltry hamlet?" So saying he flung himself into the water, and was one of the first to surmount the wall. The place was speedily taken.

The confidential friends to whom Bruce intrusted the command of separate detachments in various parts of Scotland, among whom were men of high military talent, endeavoured to outdo each other in following the example of their heroic sovereign. Douglas and Randolph particularly distinguished themselves in this patriotic rivalry. The strong and large castle of Roxburgh was secured by its position, its fortifications, and the number of the garrison from any siege which the Scots could have formed. But on the eve of Shrove Tuesday (6th March 1312-13), when the garrison were full of jollity and indulging in drunken wassail, Douglas and his followers approached the castle, creeping on hands and feet, and having dark cloaks flung over their armour. They seemed to the English soldiers a strayed herd of some neighbouring peasant's cattle, which had been suffered to escape during the festivity of the evening. They therefore saw these objects arrive on the verge of the moat and descend into it without wonder or alarm, nor did they discover their error till the shout of Douglas! Douglas! announced that the wall was scaled and the castle taken.

As if to match this gallant action, Thomas Randolph possessed himself of the yet stronger castle of Edinburgh. This also was by surprise. A soldier in Randolph's army, named William Frank, who had lived in the castle in his youth, had then learned to make his way down the precipice on which the fortress is built, by clambering over at a place where the wall was very low. He had used this perilous passage for carrying on an intrigue with a woman who resided in the city, and as he had often left the fortress and returned to it in safety, he offered himself as a guide to scale it at that

point. Randolph placed himself and thirty chosen soldiers under the guidance of this man. As they ascended under the cover of night, they heard the counter-guards making their rounds, and challenging the sentinels as usual in a well-guarded post. The Scots were at this moment screened by a rock from the sentinels and from the counter-watch. Yet one man of the patrol at that awful moment called out, "I see you," and threw down a stone. But this was only a trick for the purpose of alarming his companions, not that he had taken any real alarm, though he had so nearly discovered what was going forward. The watchmen moved on, and the Scots, with as much silence as possible, renewed their toilsome and dangerous ascent. They reached the foot of the wall where it was twelve feet high, and surmounted it by a ladder of ropes. The guide Frank mounted first, then came sir Andrew Gray, and next Randolph himself. The English sentinels now took the alarm in good earnest; but the boldness of the action was the cause of its success; and though the garrison resisted bravely, yet, being unaware of the very small force opposed to them, the castle was at length taken. This was the 14th March, 1312-13.

It was not princes and warriors alone who were roused to action on this glorious occasion. The exploit of a hardy peasant, Binnock or Binning by name, is as remarkable as the surprise of Roxburgh or Edinburgh. This brave man lived in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, where the English had constructed a strong fort. Accustomed to supply the garrison with forage, Binnock concealed eight armed Scots in his wain, which was apparently loaded with hay. He employed a strong-bodied bondsman to drive the waggon, and he himself walked beside it, as if to see his commodity delivered. When the cart was in the gateway beneath the portcullis, Binnock, with a sudden blow of an axe which he held in his hand, severed the harness which secured the horses to the wain. Finding themselves relieved from the draught, the horses sprang forward. Binnock shouted a

signal-word, and at the same time struck down the porter with his axe. The armed men started from their concealment among the hay. The English attempted to drop the portcullis or shut the gate; but the loaded wain prevented alike the fall of the one and the closing of the other. A party of armed Scots, who lay in ambush waiting the event, rushed in at the shout of their companions, and the castle was theirs.

The Bruce's success was not limited to the mainland of Scotland; he pursued the Macdougall of Galloway, to whom he owed the captivity and subsequent death of his two brothers, into the Isle of Man, where he defeated him totally, stormed his castle of Rushin, and subjected his island to the Scottish domination.

When Bruce returned to the mainland of North Britain from this expedition, he had the pleasure to find that the energy of his brother Edward had pursued the great work of expelling the English invaders with uninterrupted success. He had taken the town and castle of Rutherglen and of Dundee; the last of which had during the previous year resisted the Scottish arms, in consequence, partly, of a breach of compact, which we shall presently notice.

But these good news were chequered by others of a more doubtful quality. After his success at Rutherglen and Dundee, sir Edward Bruce laid siege to Stirling, the only considerable fortress in Scotland which still remained in the hands of the English. The governor, sir Philip de Mowbray, defended himself with great valour, but at length becoming straitened for provisions, entered into a treaty, by which he agreed to surrender the fortress if not relieved before the feast of Saint John the Baptist, in the ensuing midsummer. Bruce was greatly displeased with the precipitation of his brother Edward in entering into such a capitulation without waiting his consent. It engaged him necessarily in the same risk which had so often proved fatal to the Scots, namely, that of periling the fate of the kingdom upon a general battle, in which the numbers, discipline, and

superior appointments of the English must insure them an advantage, which experience had shown they were far from possessing over their northern neighbours when they encountered in small bodies. The king upbraided his brother with the temerity of his conduct; but Edward, with the reckless courage which characterised him, defended his agreement on the usage of chivalry, and rather seemed to triumph in having brought the protracted conflict between the kingdoms to the issue of a fair field.

If Robert Bruce had finally determined to avoid the conflict, he had a fair excuse to do so. In the preceding year (1313), as we have already hinted, William de Montfichet, the English governor of Dundee, had entered into terms similar to the treaty of Stirling, to surrender the place unless relieved at a certain stipulated time. But he had broken his agreement, and resumed his defence, under the express injunction of Edward his sovereign. So that if Bruce had refused to sanction his brother's agreement with Mowbray, he might have fairly pleaded the example of Edward his antagonist. But king Robert saw that this mode of eluding the treaty could not be acted upon without depressing the spirits of his followers, and diminishing their confidence, while it must have lost him the services of the hasty but dauntless Edward, of which his cooler courage knew how to make the most important use. Besides, his own temper, though tamed by experience, was naturally hardy and bold, and little disposed him to avoid the arbitrement of battle when his character as a soldier and a true knight recommended his accepting it. To all this must be added, that the prescient eye of Bruce saw and anticipated circumstances which, if made of due avail, might deprive the English of the advantage of numbers, discipline, and appointments, in all of which they might be expected to possess a superiority. He prepared, then, with the calm prudence of an accomplished and intelligent general for the mortal and decisive conflict, the challenge to which his brother Edward had accepted with the wild enthusiasm of a knight-errant.

to oppose to the celebrated yeomen of England, who were from childhood trained to the exercise of the bow. This warlike implement, of a size suited to his age, was put into every child's hand when five years old, and afterwards gradually increased in size with the increasing strength of him who was to use it, until the full-grown youth could manage a bow of six feet long, and by drawing the arrow to his ear, gain purchase enough to discharge shafts of a cloth-yard long. For the great inequality of numbers and skill betwixt the Scottish Highlanders and English bowmen Bruce hoped also to find a remedy by his proposed array of battle.

The third disadvantage at which this decisive contest must be fought on the part of Scotland was the disparity of numbers, which was very great. The commands of Bruce, through such parts of Scotland as confessed his sovereignty, drew together indeed a considerable force, the more easily collected, as Stirling was a central situation. But the more distant districts had, during the tumult of civil war, become almost independent, and it is not probable that the Bruce's mandates had much effect on the remoter northern provinces. On the other hand, in the country to the south, and especially to the south-east of the borders, many great lords and barons continued to profess the English interest. Of these, the great earl of March was most distinguished. We may conclude from these reasons, that the Scottish historians are right in arriving at the conclusion that Robert's utmost exertions on this trying occasion could not collect together more than about thirty thousand fighting men, though, as was usual with a Scottish army, there were followers of the camp amounting to ten thousand more, to whom, although usually a useless incumbrance, or rather a nuisance to a well-ordered army, fortune assigned on this occasion a singular influence on the fortune of the day. Bruce, thus inferior in numbers, endeavoured, like an able general, to compensate the disadvantage by so choosing his ground as to compel the enemy to narrow their front of attack, and prevent them from availing

themselves of their numerous forces, by extending them in order to turn his flanks.

With such resolutions, Robert Bruce summoned the array of his kingdom to rendezvous in the Tor-wood, about four miles from Stirling, and by degrees prepared the field of battle which he had selected for the contest. It was a space of ground then called the New Park, perhaps reserved for the chase, since Stirling was frequently a royal residence. This ground was partly open, partly encumbered with trees, in groups or separate. It was occupied by the Scottish line of battle, extending from south to north, and fronting to the east. In this position Bruce's left flank and rear might have been exposed to a rally from the castle of Stirling; but Mowbray the governor's faith was beyond suspicion, and the king was not in apprehension that he would violate the tenour of the treaty, by which he was bound to remain in passive expectation of his fate. The direct approach to the Scottish front was protected in a great measure by a morass called the New-mill Bog. A brook, called Bannockburn, running to the eastward between rocky and precipitous banks, effectually covered the Scottish right wing, which rested upon it, and was totally inaccessible. Their left flank was apparently bare, but was, in fact, formidably protected in front by a peculiar kind of field works. As the ground in that part of the field was adapted for the manœuvres of cavalry, Bruce caused many rows of pits, three feet deep, to be dug in it, so close together as to suggest the appearance of a honeycomb, with its ranges of cells. In these pits sharp stakes were strongly pitched, and the apertures covered with sod so carefully, as that the condition of the ground might escape observation. Calthrops, or spikes contrived to lame the horses, were also scattered in different directions.

Having led his troops into the field of combat, on the tidings of the English approach, the 23d of June, 1314, the king of Scotland commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and in a g

clamation

where you kept ward," said he. "Ah, Randolph, there is a rose fallen from your chaplet!"

The earl of Moray was wounded by the reproach, and with such force as he had around him, which amounted to a few scores of spearmen on foot, he advanced against Clifford to redeem his error. The English knight, interrupted in his purpose of gaining Stirling, wheeled his large body of cavalry upon Randolph, and charged him at full speed. The earl of Moray threw his men into a circle to receive the charge, the front kneeling on the ground, the second stooping, the third standing upright, and all of them presenting their spears like a wall against the headlong force of the advancing cavaliers. The combat appeared so unequal to those who viewed it from a distance, that they considered Randolph as lost, and Douglas requested the king's assistance to fetch him off. "It may not be," said the Bruce; "Randolph must pay the penalty of his indiscretion. I will not disorder my line of battle for him." — "Ah, noble king," said Douglas, "my heart cannot suffer me to see Randolph perish for lack of aid;" and with a permission half extorted from the king, half assumed by himself, Douglas marched to his defence; but upon approaching the scene of conflict, the little body of Randolph was seen emerging like a rock in the waves, from which the English cavalry were retreating on every side with broken ranks, like a repelled tide. "Hold and halt!" said the Douglas to his followers; "we are come too late to aid them; let us not lessen the victory they have won by affecting to claim a share in it." When it is remembered that Douglas and Randolph were rivals for fame, this is one of the bright touches which illuminate and adorn the history of those ages of trial, blood and devastation are the predominant characters.

Another preliminary event took place the same evening. Bruce himself, mounted upon a small horse or pony, was attentively marshalling the ranks of his guard. He carried a battle-axe in his hand, and was distinguished to friend and enemy by a golden banner.

remainder of the English troops, consisting of nine battles or separate divisions, were so straitened by the narrowness of the ground, that, to the eye of the Scots, they seemed to form one very large body, gleaming with flashes of armour, and dark with the number of banners which floated over them. Edward himself commanded this tremendous array, and in order to guard his person was attended by four hundred chosen men at arms. Immediately around the king waited sir Aymer de Valence, that earl of Pembroke who defeated Bruce at Methven wood, but was now to see a very different day, sir Giles de Argentine, a knight of Saint John of Jerusalem, who was accounted, for his deeds in Palestine and elsewhere, one of the best knights that lived, and sir Ingram Umfraville, an Anglicised Scottishman, also famed for his skill in arms.

As the Scottish saw the immense display of their enemies rolling towards them like a surging ocean, they were called on to join in an appeal to Heaven against the strength of human foes. Maurice, the abbot of Inchaffray, bare-headed and bare-footed, walked along the Scottish line, and conferred his benediction on the soldiers, who knelt to receive it, and to worship the power in whose name it was bestowed.

During this time the king of England was questioning Umfraville about the purpose of his opponents. "Will they," said Edward, "abide battle?"—"They assuredly will," replied Umfraville; "and to engage them with advantage, your highness were best order a seeming retreat, and draw them out of their strong ground." Edward rejected this counsel, and observing the Scottish soldiers kneel down, joyfully exclaimed, "They crave mercy."—"It is from Heaven, not from your highness," answered Umfraville: "on that field they will win or die." The king then commanded the charge to be sounded and the attack to take place.

The earls of Gloucester and Hereford charged the Scots left wing, under Edward Bruce, with their men

at arms ; but some rivalry between these two great lords induced them to hurry to the charge with more of emulation than of discretion, and arriving at the shock disordered and out of breath, they were unable to force the deep ranks of the spearmen. Many horses were thrown down, and their masters left at the mercy of the enemy. The other three divisions of the Scottish army attacked the mass of the English infantry, who resisted courageously. The English archers, as at the battle of Falkirk, now began to show their formidable skill, at the expense of the Scottish spearmen ; but for this Bruce was prepared. He commanded sir Robert Keith, the marshal of Scotland, with those four hundred men at arms whom he had kept in reserve for the purpose, to make a circuit and charge the English bowmen in the flank. This was done with a celerity and precision which dispersed the whole archery, who having neither stakes or other barrier to keep off the horse, nor long weapons to repel them, were cut down at pleasure, and almost without resistance.

The battle continued to rage, but with disadvantage to the English. The Scottish archers had now an opportunity of galling their infantry without opposition ; and it would appear that king Edward could find no means of bringing any part of his numerous centre or rearguard to the support of those in the front, who were engaged at disadvantage. The cause seems to have been, that his army consisting in a great measure of horse, a space of ground was wanted for the squadrons to act in divisions and with due order ; and though there are cases in which masses of infantry may possess a kind of order, even when in a manner heaped together, this can never be the case with cavalry, the efficacy of whose movements must always depend on each horse having room for free exertion.

Bruce, seeing the confusion thicken, now placed himself at the head of the reserve, and addressing Angus of the Isles in the words, " My hope is constant in thee," rushed into the engagement, followed by all the troops

against the victorious Scots, and was slain, according to his wish, with his face to the enemy. Edward must have been bewildered in the confusion of the field, for instead of directing his course southerly to Linlithgow, from which he came, he rode northward to Stirling, and demanded admittance. Philip de Mowbray, the governor, remonstrated against this rash step, reminding the unfortunate prince that he was obliged by his treaty to surrender the castle next day, as not having been relieved according to the conditions.

Edward was therefore obliged to take the southern road, and he must have made a considerable circuit to avoid the Scottish army. He was however discovered on his retreat, and pursued by Douglas with sixty horse, who were all that could be mustered for the service. A circumstance happened in the chase which illustrates what we have formerly said of the light and easy manner in which a Scottish baron's allegiance at this period hung upon him. In crossing the Tor-wood, Douglas met with sir Laurence Abernethy, who with a small body of horsemen was hastening to join king Edward and his army. But learning from Douglas that the English army was destroyed and dispersed, and the king a fugitive, sir Laurence Abernethy was easily persuaded to unite his forces with those of Douglas, and ride in pursuit of the prince to aid and defend whom he had that morning buckled on his sword and mounted his horse. The king, by a rapid and continued flight through a country in which his misfortunes must have changed many friends into enemies, at length gained the castle of Dunbar, where he was hospitably received by the earl of March. From Dunbar Edward escaped almost alone to Berwick in a fishing skiff, having left behind him the finest army a king of England ever commanded.

The quantity of spoil gained by the victors at the battle of Bannockburn was inestimable, and the ransoms paid by the prisoners largely added to the mass of treasure. Five near relations to the Bruce, namely, his wife, her sister Christian, his daughter Marjory,

the bishop of Glasgow (Wishart), and the young earl of Mar, the king's nephew, were exchanged against the earl of Hereford, high constable of England.

The Scottish loss was very small. Sir William Vipont and sir Walter Ross were the only persons of consideration slain. Sir Edward Bruce is said to have been so much attached to the last of these knights as to have expressed his wish that the battle had remained unfought, so Ross had not died.

As a lesson of tactics, the Scots might derive from this great action principles on which they might have gained many other victories. Robert Bruce had shown them that he could rid the phalanx of Scottish spearmen of the fatal annoyance of the English archery, and that, secured against their close and continued volleys of arrows, the infantry could experience little danger from the furious charge of the men at arms. Yet in no battle, save that of Bannockburn, do we observe the very obvious movement of dispersing the bowmen by means of light horse ever thought of, or at least adopted; although it is obvious that the same charge which drove the English archers from the field might have enabled the bowmen of Scotland to come into the action, with unequal powers, perhaps, but with an effect which might have been formidable when unopposed.

But if, in a strategical point of view, the field of Bannockburn was lost on the Scottish nation, they derived from it a lesson of pertinacity in national defence which they never afterwards forgot during the course of their remaining a separate people. They had seen, before the battle of Bannockburn, the light of national freedom reduced to the last spark, their patriots slain, their laws reversed, their monuments plundered and destroyed, their prince an excommunicated outlaw, who could not find in the wildernesses of his country a cave dark and inaccessible enough to shelter his head; all this they had seen in 1306: and so completely had ten years of resistance changed the scene, that the same prince rode over a field of victory a triumphant sovereign, the first nobles

CHAP. XI.

CONSEQUENCE OF THE VICTORY OF BANNOCKBURN.—DETERIORATION OF THE MILITARY STATE OF ENGLAND.—REVENUES OF THE ROYAL.—SETTLEMENT OF THE SCOTTISH CROWN.—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARGARET WITH THE STEWARD OF SCOTLAND.—EDWARD BRUCE INVADERS IRELAND HIS VASSAL IS DEFEATED AND SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF MULLATH.—BATTLE OF BINTHAUGHMUR.—EDWARD BRUCE TAKES HIS SECOND CAPTIVITY, AND HIS FORTUNE SEVERE.—INVASION OF IRELAND, AND GALLANTRY OF THE PRINCE OF DECKERS.—THE FLEEING FROM THE FORT: THE CAPTAINS WHO KNEW IT ARE IMPEACHED UNTO THE PARLIAMENT: BRUCE REFUSES TO RECOVER THEIR LETTERS.—FATHER NEWTON'S DISSENT TO BRUCE, WHICH TOTALLY FAILS.—FLEWING SUFFERED BY THE SCOTTS AND RECOVERED BY THE ENGLISH: DEFEATED BY EDWARD BRUCE.—BATTLE OF MULLATH.—TRUCE OF TWO YEARS.—CORRUPTION OF THE CROWN: LETTERS REGULATED.—ARMY OF ARMS.—BATTLE WITH THE ENGLISH.—LETTER OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT TO JOHN BAIL.—CONSPIRACY OF WILLIAM OF FORBES.—BLACK PARLIAMENT.—EXECUTION OF DAVID DE BRECKIN.

The victory of Bannockburn was followed by a series of consequences which serve to show how entirely the energies of a kingdom, its wisdom, its skill, its bravery, and its success depend upon the manner in which its government is administered and its resources directed. The indolence with which Edward II. had managed the affairs of England, his neglect of the Scottish war, while supported almost in spite of every species of superiority by the talents of Bruce and those whom his genius had summoned to arms—this original error, followed by the great and decisive failure which the English king had experienced in his final attempt to crush the enemy after he had become too strong for his efforts, produced an effect on the public mind through England, which, did we not find it recorded by her own historians, we could hardly reconcile to the triumphs of the same people in the past reign of Edward I., and the subsequent one of Edward III. "A hundred English," says Walsing-

It is probable that Robert's acquaintance with his brother Edward's martial character and experience in war inclined him to give his assent that he and his issue should occupy the throne, rather than expose the unsettled state to the government of a female, by devolving it upon his own daughter. But there is also reason to believe that the monarch was suspicious that the fiery valour and irregular ambition of Edward would lead him to dispute the right of his daughter; and king Robert was willing to spare Scotland the risk of a disputed claim to the throne, found by experience to be the inlet of so many evils, even at the sacrifice of postponing the right of his own daughter. If this be the ground of the arrangement, it is an additional instance of the paternal regard which the great Bruce bore to the nation whose monarchy he had restored, and whose independence he had asserted.

But Edward Bruce's ambition was too impatient to wait till the succession to the Scottish crown should become open to him by the death of his brother, when an opportunity seemed to offer itself which offered a prospect of instantly gaining a kingdom by the sword. This occurred when a party of Irish chiefs, discontented with the rule of the English invaders, sent an invitation to Edward Bruce to come over with a force adequate to expel the English from Ireland, and assume the sceptre of that fair island. By consent of king Robert, who was pleased to make a diversion against England upon a vulnerable point, and not, perhaps, sorry to be rid of a restless spirit, which became impatient in the lack of employment, Edward invaded Ireland at the head of six thousand Scots. He fought many battles and gained them all. He became master of the province of Ulster, and was solemnly crowned king of Ireland; but found himself amid his successes obliged to seek the assistance of king Robert with fresh supplies. The impetuous Edward, who never spared his person, was equally reckless of exposing his followers, and his successes were misfortunes, in so far

ham, "would not be ashamed to fly from three or four private Scottish soldiers, so much had they lost their national courage."

Thrice within twelve months Scottish armies, commanded by James Douglas and Edward Bruce, broke into the English frontiers, and ravaged them with fire and sword, executing great cruelties on the unfortunate inhabitants, forcing the few who could so escape to take shelter under the fortifications of Berwick, Newcastle, or Carlisle, all strong towns, carefully fortified, and numerous garrisons.

Meantime commissioners on both sides had met with a proposal for peace; but the Scots, on the one hand, were elated with success, and on the other the national spirit of the English would not agree to the conditions which they proposed, and the negotiation was therefore broken off. The war continued with mutual animosity, though much more effectually carried on by the Scots, who wasted the northern frontiers with unceasing ravages, which were hardly encountered or repaid either by resistance or retaliation. In the mean time a famine spread its ravages through both countries, and added its terrors to those of the sword, which, by scaring away the peasants and destroying the agricultural produce, had done much to create this new scourge.

In 1315 the estates or parliament of Scotland, bethinking themselves of the evils sustained by the nation at the death of Alexander III., through the uncertainty of the succession to the crown, entered into an act of settlement, by which Edward, the king's brother, we may suppose upon the ancient principles of the Scottish nation, was called to the throne in case of Robert's decease without heirs male; and Edward or his issue failing, the succession was assured to king Robert's only child, Marjory, and her descendants. The princess was immediately married to Walter, the high-steward of Scotland, and the heir of that auspicious marriage having succeeded in a subsequent generation to the throne of Scotland, their descendants now sit upon that of Britain.

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wasted the brave men with whose lives they were purchased.

Robert Bruce led supplies to his brother's assistance, with an army which enabled him to overrun Ireland, but without gaining any permanent advantage. He threatened Dublin, and penetrated as far as Limerick in the west, but was compelled, by scarcity of provisions, to retire again into Ulster, in the spring of 1317. He shortly after returned to Scotland, leaving a part of his troops with Edward, though probably convinced that his brother was engaged in a desperate and fruitless enterprise, where he could not rely on the faith of his Irish subjects, as he termed them, or the steadiness of their troops, while Scotland was too much exhausted to supply him with new armies of auxiliaries.

After his brother's departure, Edward's career of ambition was closed at the battle of Dundalk, where, October 5th, 1318, fortune at length failed a warrior who had tried her patience by so many hazards. On that fatal day he encountered, against the advice of his officers, an Anglo-Irish army ten times more numerous than his own. A strong champion among the English, named John Maupas, singling out the person of Edward, slew him, and received death at his hands: their bodies were found stretched upon each other in the field of battle. The victors ungenerously mutilated the body of him before whom most of them had repeatedly fled. A general officer of the Scots, called John Thomson, led back the remnant of the Scottish force to their own country. And thus ended the Scottish invasion of Ireland, with the loss of many brave soldiers, whom their country afterwards severely missed in her hour of need.

815. Meanwhile some important events had taken place in Scotland while these Irish campaigns were in progress. The king, whose attention was much devoted to nautical matters, had threatened the English coast with a disembarkation at several points. He had also destroyed what authority his ancient and mortal foe, John of

Lorn, still retained in the Hebrides, made him prisoner, and consigned him to the castle of Loch Leven, where he died in captivity. New efforts to disturb the English frontiers revived the evils of those unhappy countries. In 1316, Robert, at the head of a considerable army, penetrated into Yorkshire, and destroyed the country as far as Richmond, which only escaped the flames by paying a ransom. But an assault upon Berwick, and an attempt to storm Carlisle, were both successfully resisted by the English garrisons.

During the time that Robert Bruce was in Ireland with his brother, the English on their side made several attempts on the borders. But though the king was absent, Douglas and Stewart defended the frontiers with the most successful valour.

A remarkable action was fought near a manor called Linthaughlee, about two miles above Jedburgh. James Douglas was lying at this place, which is on the banks of the Jed, and then surrounded by the forest land called Jed-wood, which stretches away towards the English border. Here he heard that the earl of Arundel, having in his company sir Thomas de Richmond, earl of Britany, with an English force of ten thousand men, was advancing from Northumberland to take him by surprise. Douglas (as had been said of one of his ancestors) was never found asleep by his enemies, being as vigilant as he was sagacious and brave. He immediately resolved to be beforehand with the invaders. Having selected a strait passage in the line of march of the English earls, he caused the copse-wood on each side to be wrought into a sort of empalement or stockade, forming a defile, through which the road must pass, and greatly adding to its natural difficulties. He placed his archers in ambush near this place; and when the English had engaged themselves in the narrow pathway he poured on them a volley of arrows, and charged them with the utmost fury. As the English could not form themselves into order, either for advance or for retreat, they were thrown into confusion, and compelled

to fly. It was the peculiarity of Douglas to unite the personal courage and adventurous spirit of a knight-errant with the calm skill and deliberation of an accomplished leader. He threw himself headlong into the *mêlée*, singled out the earl of Britany, and, grappling with him, stabbed him to the heart with his dagger. Douglas carried off a fur hat which the unfortunate earl wore above his helmet, as a trophy of his valour and success. The house of Douglas still wreath the escutcheon of their family with the representation of an empalement or barrier of young trees, in memory of the stratagem successfully employed by the good lord James at Lint-haughlee.

1317. Edmund de Caillou, a French knight, lay about the same time in the garrison of Berwick, being created governor of that town. With the enterprise of his countrymen, he boasted he would drive a prey from Scotland. Accordingly he sallied forth with a band of Gascons like himself; but as they were returning with a great spoil they were intercepted by Douglas, and Caillou lost his booty and life. Sir Robert Neville was also in Berwick. He upbraided such of the Gascons as escaped from the field with cowardice; and as the crest-fallen Frenchmen pleaded the irresistible prowess of Douglas, Neville proudly expressed a wish to see the Scottish chieftain's banner displayed, averring he would himself give battle wherever he beheld it. This vaunt reached the ears of Douglas, and shortly after the formidable banner was seen in the neighbourhood of Berwick, where the smoke of blazing hamlets marked its presence. Robert Neville collected his forces, and sallied out to make good, like a true knight, the words that he had spoken. Douglas no sooner saw him issue from the town than he went straight to the encounter. Neville and his men fought bravely, and the English champion met Douglas hand to hand. But the skill, strength, and fortune of the Scottish hero were predominant. Neville fell by the sword of Douglas, and his men were defeated.

Another military incident shows that the spirit of the

king, which called forth and animated the talents of Douglas, could awaken a congenial desire of honour even in men whose profession removed them from arms or battle. An attempt of Edward II. to retaliate the aggressions of the Scottish, was made by sending a fleet into the firth of Forth, and disembarking a considerable body of troops at Duniebrisse on the Fife coast. The sheriff collected about five hundred Scottish horse, who went to reconnoitre the invaders ; but, thinking themselves unequal to the task of resisting, they retreated precipitately. They were met, as they were riding off in disorder, by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, a man hardy of heart and tall of person, who resided near the coast. " Out upon you for false knights, whose spurs should be stricken from your heels !" said the prelate to the fugitive sheriff and his followers ; then catching a spear from the soldier next him, " Who loves Scotland," he said, " let him follow me !" The daring bishop then led a desperate charge against the English, who had not completed their disembarkation, and were driven back to their ships with loss. When Bruce heard of the prelate's gallantry, he declared Sinclair should hereafter be *his* bishop, and by the name of the king's bishop he was long distinguished.

Our history has so long conducted us through an unvarying recital of scenes of war and battle, that we feel a relief in being called to consider some intrigues of a more peaceful character, which place the sagacity of Robert Bruce in as remarkable a point of view as his bravery. The king of England, suffering by the continuation of a war which distressed him on all points, yet unwilling to purchase peace by the sacrifices which the Scots demanded, fell on the scheme of procuring a truce without loss of dignity by the intervention of the pope. John XXII., then supreme pontiff, was induced, by the English influence, assuming, it is said, the interesting complexion of gold, to issue a bull, commanding a two years' peace betwixt England and Scotland. Two cardinals were intrusted with this document, with

orders to pass to the nations which it concerned, and there make it known. These dignitaries of the church had also letters, both sealed and patent, addressed to both kings. And privately they were invested with powers of fulminating a sentence of excommunication against the king of Scots, his brother Edward, and any others of their adherents whom they might think fit. The cardinals, arrived in England, despatched two nuncios to Scotland, the bishop of Corbeil and a priest called Aumori, to deliver the pope's letters to the Scottish king. For comfort and dignity in their journey, these two reverend nuncios set out northwards, in the train of Lewis de Beaumont, bishop elect of Durham, who was passing to his diocese to receive consecration. But within a stage of Durham the whole party was surprised by a number of banditti, commanded by two robber knights, called Middleton and Selby, who, from being soldiers, had become chiefs of outlaws. Undeterred by the sacred character of the churchmen, they rifled them to the last farthing, and dismissing the nuncios on their journey to Scotland, carried away the bishop elect, whom they detained a captive till they extorted a ransom so large, that the plate and jewels of the cathedral were necessarily sold to defray it.

Disheartened by so severe a welcome to the scene of hostilities, the nuncios at length came before Bruce, and presented the pope's letters. Those which were open he commanded to be read, and listened to the contents with much respect. But, ere opening the sealed epistles, he observed, that they were addressed not to the king, but to lord Robert Bruce, governor in Scotland. "These," he said, "I will not receive nor open. I have subjects of my own name, and some of them may have a share in the government. For such the holy father's letters may be designed, but they cannot be intended for me, who am sovereign of Scotland." The nuncios endeavoured to apologise, by alleging it was not the custom of the church to prejudice the right of either party during the dependency of a controversy by any

word or expression. "It is I, not Edward," said Bruce, "who am prejudiced by the conduct of the holy church. My spiritual mother does me wrong in refusing to give me the name of king, under which I am obeyed by my people; and but that I reverence our mother church, I should answer you differently." The nuncios had no alternative but to retire and report their answer to the cardinals. These dignitaries resolved, at all risks, to execute the pope's commission, by publishing the bulls and instruments. But not caring to trust their reverend persons across the border, they confided to Adam Newton, father guardian of the friars minorite of Berwick, the momentous and somewhat perilous task of communicating to Robert Bruce what they had no reason to think would be agreeable tidings.

Father Newton acted as a man of due caution. He did not intrust himself or the documents within Scottish ground until he had obtained an especial safe conduct. The bulls and papal instruments were then produced to Bruce and his council; but finding the title of king was withheld from him, Robert refused to listen to or open them, and returned them to the bearer with the utmost contempt. The father guardian next attempted to proclaim the papal truce for two years. But the military hearers received the intimation with such marks of anger and contempt, that Newton began to fear they would not confine the expressions of their displeasure to words or gestures. He prayed earnestly that he might either have licence to pass forwards into Scotland for the purpose of holding conference with some of the Scottish prelates, or at least that he might have safe conduct for his return to Berwick. Both requests were refused, and the unlucky father guardian was commanded to be gone at his own proper peril. The reader will anticipate the consequences. The friar on his return fell into the hands of four outlaws, who stripped him of his papers and despatches, tore, it is said, the pope's bull, doubtless to prevent that copy at least from being made use of, and

sent him back to Berwick unhurt, indeed, but sorely frightened. It is diverting enough to find that the guardian surmised that, by some means or other, the documents he was intrusted with had fallen into the hands of the lord Robert Bruce and his accomplices. It was thus that with a mixture of firmness and dexterity Bruce eluded a power which it would not have been politic to oppose directly, and baffled the attempts of this servile pontiff to embarrass him by spiritual opposition.

When father Adam Newton delivered his message, or rather proffered to deliver it, to Robert Bruce, the Scottish king was lying with a body of troops in the wood of Old Cambus, where he was secretly maturing an important enterprise. Of all Edward the first's northern conquests Berwick alone remained with his unfortunate son. Its importance as a commercial depot was great; as a garrison and frontier town, greater still, since it gave whichever kingdom possessed it the means of invading the other at pleasure. For this reason Edward I had secured and garrisoned the town and castle with great care; and Edward II., careless of his father's precepts and policy in many respects, had adhered to his example in watching the security of Berwick with a jealous eye. A governor was placed in the town, who exercised such rigorous discipline as gave offence to the citizens of Berwick. A burgess named Spalding, of Scottish extraction probably, if we may judge by his name, and certainly married to a Scottish woman, was so much offended at some hard usage which he had received from the English governor, that he resolved, in revenge, to betray the place to Robert Bruce. For this purpose he communicated his plan to the earl of March, who had abandoned the English interest and become a good Scotsman. His correspondent carried the proposal to the king. "You did well to let me know this," said the Bruce, with a shrewdness which shows his acquaintance with the nature of mankind and the character of his generals; "Douglas and Randolph are emulous of glory, and if you had intrusted one of them

CHAP. XII.

PREPARATIONS OF EDWARD TO INVADE SCOTLAND. — INCURSIONS OF THE SCOTS INTO LANCASHIRE. — THE ENGLISH ENTER SCOTLAND. — ROBERT BRUCE LAYS WASTE THE COUNTRY, AND AVOIDS BATTLE. — THE ENGLISH ARE OBLIGED TO RETREAT. — ROBERT INVADES ENGLAND IN TURN. — DEFEATS THE KING OF ENGLAND AT BILAND ABBEY. — TREASON AND EXECUTION OF SIR ANDREW HARTCLA. — TRUCE FOR THIRTEEN YEARS. — RANDOLPH'S NEGOTIATION WITH THE POPE. — SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND. — DEPOSITION OF EDWARD II. — ROBERT DETERMINES TO BREAK THE TRUCE UNDER CHARGES OF INFRACTION BY ENGLAND. — EDWARD III. ASSEMBLES HIS ARMY AT YORK, WITH A FORMIDABLE BODY OF AUXILIARIES. — DOUGLAS AND RANDOLPH ADVANCE INTO NORTHUMBERLAND AT THE HEAD OF A LIGHT-ARMED ARMY. — EDWARD MARCHES AS FAR AS THE TYNE WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO FIND THE SCOTS. — A REWARD PUBLISHED TO WHOMSOEVER SHOULD BRING TIDINGS OF THEIR MOTIONS. — IT IS CLAIMED BY THOMAS OF ROKERY. — THE SCOTS ARE FOUND IN AN INACCESSIBLE POSITION, AND THEY REFUSE BATTLE. — THE SCOTS SHIFT THEIR ENCAMPMENT TO STANNHOPE PARK. — DOUGLAS ATTACKS THE ENGLISH BY NIGHT. — THE SCOTS RETREAT, AND THE ENGLISH ARMY IS DISMISSED. — THE SCOTS SUDDENLY AGAIN INVADE ENGLAND — A PACIFICATION TAKES PLACE: ITS PARTICULAR ARTICLES. — ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BRUCE. — THOUGHTS ON HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER. — EFFECTS PRODUCED ON THE CHARACTER OF THE SCOTS DURING HIS REIGN.

KING Edward made extensive preparations for a campaign on a great scale: he sent for soldiers, arms, and provisions to Aquitaine and the other French provinces belonging to England, and obtained the consent of parliament for a large levy of forces, upon the scale of one man from each village and hamlet in England, with a proportional number from market-towns and cities. Subsidies were also granted to a large extent, for defraying the expenses of the expedition. But while Edward was making preparations, the Scots were already in action. Randolph broke into the west marches with those troops to whom the road was become familiar; and

which, in an army, seldom fails to bring its own punishment. When the English soldiers, after much want and privation, regained their own land of plenty, they indulged in it so intemperately, that sixteen thousand died of inflammation of the bowels, and others had their constitutions broken for life.

Robert Bruce hastened to retaliate the invasion which he had not judged it prudent to meet and repel. He pushed across the Tweed at the head of his army, and made an attempt upon Norham castle, in which he failed. He learnt, however, that the king of England was reposing and collecting forces at Biland Abbey, near Malton; and as the Scots, although they fought on foot, generally used in their journeys small horses of uncommon strength and hardihood, Robert, by a forced march, suddenly and unexpectedly placed himself in front of the English army. But they were admirably drawn up on the ridge of a hill, accessible only by a single, narrow, and difficult ascent. Bruce commanded Douglas to storm the English position. As he advanced to the attack, he was joined by Randolph, who with four squires volunteered to fight under his command. Sir Thomas Ughtred and sir Ralph Cobham, who were stationed in advance of the English army to defend the pass, made a violent and bloody opposition. But Bruce, as at the battle of Cruachan-Ben, turned the English position by means of a body of Highlanders accustomed to mountain warfare, who climbed the ridge at a distance from the scene of action, and attacked the flank and rear of the English position. King Edward with the utmost difficulty escaped to Bridlington, leaving behind him his equipage, baggage, and treasure. John of Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, were made prisoners. It seems the earl had, upon some late occasion, spoken discourteously of Bruce, who made a distinction betwixt him and the other French captives, ordering Richmond into close custody, and recognising in the others honourable knights, who sought adventures and battles from no ill-will to him, but merely

Bruce had now leisure to direct his thoughts towards achieving peace with Rome ; for his being in the state of excommunication, though a circumstance little regarded in his own dominions, must have operated greatly to his disadvantage in his intercourse with other states and kingdoms of Europe. The king despatched to Rome his nephew, the celebrated Randolph earl of Moray, who conducted the negotiation with such tact and dexterity, that he induced the pope to address a bull to his royal relation under the long-withheld title of king of Scotland. The delicacy of the discussion was so great, that we are surprised to find a northern warrior, who scarce had breathed any air save that of the battle-field, capable of encountering and attaining the advantage over the subtle Italian priest in his own art of diplomacy. But the qualities which form a military character of the highest order are the same with those of the consummate politician. Shrewdness to arrange plans of attack, prudence to foresee and obviate those of his antagonist, perfect composure and acuteness in discerning and seizing every opportunity of advantage, hold an equal share in the composition of both. The king of England was extremely displeased with the pope, and intrigued so much at Rome to resume his influence, and use it to the prejudice of Robert, that his private machinations there were afterwards alleged by the Scots as the cause of their breaking the long truce which had been concluded between the countries.

Randolph's talents for negotiation were also displayed in effecting a league between Scotland and France, which the circumstances of the times seemed strongly to recommend, and which was entered into accordingly. This French alliance was productive of events very prejudicial to Scotland in after-ages, often involving the country in war with England, when the interests of the nation would have strongly recommended neutrality. But these evil consequences were not so strongly apparent as the immediate advantage of securing the assistance and support of a wealthy and powerful nation, who

remains of the earl of Lancaster's party in the state had now arranged themselves under the ambitious queen Isabella and her minion Mortimer, and accomplished the overthrow of Edward the second's power, which the same faction had in vain attempted under Lancaster and Hartcla. The unfortunate king, more weak than wilful, then executed a compulsory resignation in favour of his son Edward III., and, thus dethroned, was imprisoned, and finally most cruelly murdered.

It is probable that Robert Bruce was determined to take advantage of the confusion occasioned by this convulsion in England, to infringe the truce and renew the war, with the purpose of compelling an advantageous peace. For this he wanted not sufficiently fair pretexts, though it may be doubted whether he would have made use of them had not the opportunity for renewing the war, with a kingdom governed by a boy and divided by factions, seemed so particularly inviting. His ostensible motives, however, were, that, although an article of the treaty at Thorpe, confirmed at Berwick, provided that the spiritual excommunication pronounced against Bruce should be suspended till the termination of the truce, yet Edward, by underhand measures at the court of Rome, had endeavoured to prejudice the cause of the Scottish king with the pontiff, and obstruct, if possible, the important object of his reconciliation with Rome. It was also alleged on the part of Scotland, that the English cruisers had infringed the truce, by interrupting the commerce between Flanders and Scotland, and particularly by the capture of various merchant vessels, for which no indemnity could be obtained.

The truth seems to be, that Robert, having these causes or pretences for breaking off the truce, was desirous to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the internal disturbances of England to bring matters to a final issue, and either to resume the war at a period which promised advantage, or obtain a distinct recognition of the independence of Scotland, and an acknowledgment of his own title to the crown. Froissart and

other historians have intimated that the Scottish king desired also to avail himself of the opportunity to obtain in permanent sovereignty some part of the northern provinces of England. It is highly probable such a claim was stated and founded upon the possession of these counties by the Scottish kings in David I.'s time, and before it. But it was probably mentioned in the usual policy of negotiators, who state their demands high that there may be room for concession. The serious prosecution of such a design neither accords with the Bruce's policy nor with his actual conduct. He well knew that Northumberland and Cumberland, over which Scotland had once a claim, were now become a part of England, and attached to that country by all the ties of national predilection, and that although a right to them might be conceded in an hour of distress, it would only create a perpetual cause of war for their recovery, when England should regain its superiority. Accordingly, in all his inroads, Bruce treated the border districts as part of England, to be plundered by his flying armies, while he never took measures either to conciliate the inhabitants or secure and garrison any places of strength for the appropriation of the country. The line drawn betwixt the Tweed and Solway afforded to Scotland a strong frontier, which any advance to the southward must have rendered a weak and unprotected one. Accordingly, when triumphant in the war which he undertook, the sagacious Robert did not make any proposal for enlarging the territory of Scotland, while he took every means for insuring her independence.

Negotiations for continuing the truce, or converting it into a final peace, which seems the point aimed at by Bruce, were finally broken off between the two kingdoms; and Edward III., already, though in early youth, animated by the martial spirit which no king of England possessed more strongly, appointed his forces to meet at Newcastle before the 29th of May, 1327, alleging that the king of Scotland had convoked his army to assemble at that day upon the borders, in breach of the truce concluded at Thorpe. The rendezvous took

place, however, at York, where a noble army convened under command of the young king, the future hero of Cressy, to which magnificent host had been added, at the expense of a large subsidy, five hundred men at arms from Hainault, who were then reckoned the best soldiers in Europe. With the archers and light horse attendant on each man at arms, the number of these auxiliaries must be calculated as amounting to three thousand men. But, as it proved, their heavy horses and heavy armour rendered them ill-qualified to act in the swampy, wild, and mountainous country where the seat of war was destined to lie. An accidental quarrel also took place at York betwixt these knightly strangers and the English archers. Much blood was shed on both sides, and a discord created between the foreigners and natives of Edward's army, which seems to have caused embarrassment during the whole expedition.

In the mean time the Scottish forces, to the number of two or three thousand men at arms, well mounted and equipped for a day of battle, and a large body of their light cavalry, amounting to more than ten thousand, with many followers, who marched on horseback, but fought on foot, invaded the western border, according to their custom, and penetrating through the wild frontier of Cumberland, came down upon Weardale, in the bishopric of Durham, marking their course with more than their usual ferocity of devastation. These forces, superior to all known in Europe for irregular warfare, were conducted by the wisdom, experience, and enterprising courage of the famed Randolph and the good lord James Douglas, guided, doubtless, by the anxious instructions of the Bruce, who, though only fifty-three years of age, was affected by a disease of the blood, then termed the leprosy, which prevented his leading his armies in person.

The king of England, on the other hand, at the head of a princely army of sixty thousand men, including five hundred belted knights, animated by the presence of the queen mother and fifty ladies of the highest rank,

of fight, according to the practice of chivalry: he offered either to withdraw his own troops from the northern bank, and permit the Scottish army to come over and form in array of battle; or, if the enemy preferred to retire from the southern bank, and allow the English to cross the river unmolested, he declared his willingness to make the attack. But Douglas and Randolph knew too well their own inferiority in numbers and appointments, and the great advantage of their present situation, to embrace either alternative. They returned for answer, that they had entered England without the consent of the king and his barons; that they would abide in the realm as long as they pleased: "if the king dislikes our presence," said they, "let him pass the river, and do his best to chastise us." Thus the two armies continued facing each other; the Scots on the south bank of the Wear, the English on the north; the former subsisting on the herds of cattle which they drove in from the country on all hands, the latter living poorly on such provisions as they brought with them: the former spending their night round immense fires, maintained in the greater profusion for the pleasure of wasting the English wood, and lodging in huts and lodges made of boughs; the English, who were on the depopulated and wasted side of the river, sleeping many of them in the open air, with their saddles for pillows, and holding their horses in their hands. They were annoyed by the Scottish bordermen winding their horns all night, and making a noise as if, says Froissart, "all the devils of hell had been there." Having thus faced each other for two or three days, the English, at dawn of the third or fourth morning, perceived the Scots' position was deserted and empty. They had decamped with much silence and celerity, and were soon found to have occupied a new position on the Wear, resembling the former in its general description, but even stronger, and masked by a wood, being part of an inclosed chase, called Stanhope Deer-park, the property of the bishop of Durham. Here the two hostile armies confronted each other as

formerly; the English declining to attack on account of the strength of the Scottish position, the Scots refusing battle with an army superior to their own.

Whilst they had little to do save to remark each other's equipment, the Scots saw among the English two novelties in the practice of war, which, though attended with very different consequences, are recorded by contemporaries with equal wonder. The one was a mode of adjusting the crest upon the helmet, called *timbering*; the other was the use of a new kind of artillery, then called *engynes*, or, by abbreviation, *gynes*, or *cracks of war*, from which we have derived the modern term *guns*. The effect produced by fire-arms in their rude state could not have been formidable, nor could it have been augured that the invention would cause a general change in the art of war, since it is merely noticed as a novelty, along with a new and fantastic mode of ornamenting the helmet.

But the English did not remain long in the neighbourhood of the Douglas in undisturbed slumbers. On the second night after their arrival in this new position, that enterprising leader left the Scottish camp with a select body of men at arms, crossed the Wear at a distance from the English encampment, and entered it, saying, as he passed the sleepy sentinels, in the manner and with the national exclamation of an English officer making the rounds: "Ha! Saint George! have we no ward here?" He reached the king's tent without discovery, cut asunder the ropes, and cried his war cry of "Douglas! Douglas!" The young king only escaped death or captivity by the fidelity of his chaplain and others of his household, who fell in his defence. Disappointed in his attempt on the king's person, which was his main object, Douglas cut his way through the English host, who were now gathering fast, broke from their encampment, and returned safe to the Scottish camp with fresh laurels in his helmet.

On the second night after this camisade the English received intimation from a Scottish captive that all the

army were commanded to hold themselves in readiness to march that evening, and to follow the banner of Douglas. The English conceived this to be a preparation for a repetition of the nocturnal attack, and lay on their arms all the night. But Douglas was too wise to trust to a renewal of the same stratagem. In the morning it was ascertained that the Scots, having left great fires burning in their camp, had marched off about midnight by a road which they had cut through a morass in their rear supposed to be impassable.

The camp of the Scots now deserted furnished a curious spectacle to the English and the strangers. Four hundred beeves lay slaughtered for the use of their army. Three hundred caldrons, formed extemporaneously out of raw hides, were filled with the beef which the same skins had covered while the creatures were alive: hundreds of old brogues, made out of the same materials, lay about the tents. Five English prisoners were found bound to trees, three of whom had their legs broken, although whether in some previous action, or by a gratuitous piece of cruelty after they were made prisoners, does not appear. The hardy warriors of Douglas and Randolph lived exactly as drovers and other Scots of the lower order do at the present day, when bound on long journeys. A bag of oatmeal hung at the croup of the saddle, which also bore a plate of iron, called a *girdle*, on which the said oatmeal was baked into cakes as occasion offered: animal food was furnished by their plunder in an enemy's country—in their own they subsisted well enough without. Salt, liquor of any kind, save water, as well as any variety of food, they entirely dispensed with.

Wanting so little, and carrying with them the means of satisfying themselves, it was easy to see why these light marauders remained concealed from the heavy-armed English, distressed alike by their numerous wants and the apparatus they bore along to supply them, until it was their pleasure to become visible in Weardale, where they remained no longer than suited their own inclination. It soon appeared that Douglas and Ran-

dolph, having taken a circuitous course till they had turned the flank, were already advanced on their way homeward, to meet another Scottish army, which had crossed the frontier to extricate them if it should be necessary.

The English retreated to Durham, dejected and distressed, especially the knights and men at arms of Hainault, many of whom, instead of the praise and plunder they hoped to acquire, had lost their valuable horses and property. They were dismissed, however, with thanks and reward; and it is said these troops, notwithstanding their total inefficiency, had cost the kingdom of England a sum equal to 320,000*l.* sterling of modern money.

King Edward III. next convoked a parliament at York, in which there appeared a tendency on the part of England to concede the main points on which proposals for peace had hitherto failed, by acknowledging the independence of Scotland, and the legitimate sovereignty of Bruce. These dispositions to reconciliation were much quickened by the sudden apparition of king Robert himself on the eastern frontier, where he besieged the castles of Norham and Alnwick, while a large division of his army burned and destroyed the open country, and the king himself rode about hunting from one park to another as if on a pleasure party. The parliament at York, although the besieged castles made a gallant defence, agreed upon a truce, which it was now determined should be the introduction to a lasting peace. As a necessary preliminary, the English statesmen resolved formally to execute a resignation of all claims of dominion and superiority which had been assumed over the kingdom of Scotland, and agreed that all muniments or public instruments asserting or tending to support such a claim should be delivered up. This agreement was subscribed by the king on the 4th of March, 1328. Peace was afterwards concluded at Edinburgh the 17th of March, 1328, and ratified at a parliament held at Northampton, the 4th of May, 1328. It was confirmed by a match

agreed upon between the princess Joanna, sister to Edward III., and David, son of Robert I., though both were as yet infants. Articles of strict amity were settled betwixt the nations, without prejudice to the effect of the alliance between Scotland and France. Bruce renounced the privilege of assisting rebels of England, should such arise in Ireland, and Edward the power of encouraging those of the isles who might rise against Scotland. It was stipulated that all the charters and documents carried from Scotland by Edward the first should be restored, and the king of England was pledged to give his aid in the court of Rome towards the recall of the excommunication awarded against king Robert. Lastly, Scotland was to pay a sum of twenty thousand pounds, in consideration of these favourable terms. The borders were to be maintained in strict order on both sides, and the fatal coronation stone was to be restored to Scotland. There was another separate obligation on the Scottish side, which led to most serious consequences in the subsequent reign. The seventh article of the peace of Northampton provided that certain English barons, Thomas lord Wake of Lidel, Henry de Beaumont earl of Buehan, and Henry de Percy should be restored to the lands and heritages in Scotland, whereof they had been deprived during the war by the king of Scots seising them into his own hand. The execution of this article was deferred by the Scottish king, who was not, it may be conceived, very willing again to introduce English nobles as landholders into Scotland. The English nob on their part resisted the removal of the fatal stone from Westminster, where it had been deposited; a pertinacity which "superstitious eld" believed was its own punishment, since with slow but sure attraction the mystic influence of the magnetic palladium drew the Scottish Solomon, James VI., to the sovereignty in the kingdom where it was deposited. The deed called Ragman's Roll, being the list of the barons and men of note who subscribed the submission to Edward the first in 1296, was, however, delivered up

to the Scots ; and a more important pledge, the English princess Joanna, then only seven years old, was placed in the custody of Bruce; to be united at a fitting age to her boy-bridegroom, David, who was himself two years younger.

The treaty of peace made at Northampton has been termed dishonourable to England by her historians. But stipulations that are just and necessary in themselves cannot infer dishonour, however disadvantageous they may be. The treaty of Northampton was just, because the English had no title to the superiority of Scotland ; and it was necessary, because Edward III. had no force to oppose the Scottish army, but was compelled to lie within the fortifications of York, and see the invaders destroy the country nearly to the banks of the Humber. What is alike demanded by justice and policy it may be mortifying but cannot be dishonourable to concede ; and before passing so heavy a censure on the Northampton parliament, these learned writers ought to have considered whether England possessed any right over Scotland ; and, secondly, whether that which they claimed was an adequate motive for continuing an unsuccessful war.

Bruce seemed only to wait for the final deliverance of his country to close his heroic career. He had retired, probably for the purpose of enjoying a milder climate, to his castle of Cardross, on the firth of Clyde, near Dumbarton. Here he lived in princely retirement, and, entertaining the nobles with rude hospitality, relieved by liberal doles of food the distresses of the poor. Nautical affairs seem to have engaged his attention very much, and he built vessels, with which he often went on the adjacent firth. He practised falconry, being unequal to sustain the fatigue of hunting. We may add, for every thing is interesting where Robert Bruce is the subject, that he kept a lion, and a fool named Patrick, as regular parts of his establishment. Meantime his disease (a species of leprosy, as we have already said, which had origin in the hardships and privations which

he had sustained for so many years) gained ground upon his remaining strength.

When he found his end drew nigh, that great king summoned his barons and peers around him, and affectionately recommended his son to their care, then singling out the good lord James of Douglas, fondly entreated of him, as his old friend and companion in arms, to cause the heart to be taken from his body after death, conjuring him to take the charge of transporting it to Palestine in redemption of a vow which he had made to go in person thither, when he was disentangled from the cares brought on him by the English wars. "Now the hour is come," he said, "I cannot avail myself of the opportunity, but must send my heart thither in place of my body; and a better knight than you, my dear and tried friend and comrade, to execute such a commission, *the world holds not.*" All who were present wept bitterly around the bed, while the king, with almost his dying words, bequeathed this melancholy task to his best-beloved follower and champion. On the 7th of June, 1329, died Robert Bruce, at the almost premature age of fifty-five. He was buried at Dunfermline, where his tomb was opened in our time, and his reliques again interred amid all the feelings of awe and admiration which such a sight tended naturally to inspire.

Remarkable in many things, there was this almost peculiar to Robert Bruce, that his life was divided into three distinct parts, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the same individual. His youth was thoughtless, hasty, and fickle, and from the moment he began to appear in public life until the slaughter of the Red Comyn, and his final assumption of the crown, he appeared to have entertained no certain purpose beyond that of shifting with the shifting tide, like the other barons around him, ready, like them, to enter into hasty plans for the liberation of Scotland from the English yoke; but equally prompt to submit to the overwhelming power of Edward. Again, in a short but

very active period of his life, he displayed the utmost steadiness, firmness, and constancy, sustaining, with unabated patience and determination, the loss of battles, the death of friends, the disappointment of hopes, and an uninterrupted series of disasters, on which scarce a ray of hope appeared to brighten. This term of suffering extended from the field of Methven-wood till his return to Scotland from the island of Rachrin, after which time his career, whenever he was himself personally engaged, was almost uniformly successful, even till he obtained the object of his wishes — the secure possession of an independent throne.

When these things are considered, we shall find reason to conclude that the misfortunes of the second or suffering period of Bruce's life had taught him lessons of constancy, of prudence, and of moderation, which were unknown to his early years, and tamed the hot and impetuous fire which his temper, like that of his brother Edward, naturally possessed. He never permitted the injuries of Edward I. (although three brothers had been cruelly executed by that monarch's orders) to provoke him to measures of retaliation; and his generous conduct to the prisoners at Bannockburn, as well as elsewhere, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity. His manly spirit of chivalry was best evinced by a circumstance which happened in Ireland, where, when pursued by a superior force of English, he halted and offered battle at disadvantage, rather than abandon a poor washerwoman, who had been taken with the pains of labour, to the cruelty of the native Irish. Robert Bruce's personal accomplishments in war stood so high, that he was universally esteemed one of the three best knights of Europe during that martial age, and gave many proofs of personal prowess. His achievements seem amply to vindicate this high estimation, since the three Highlanders slain in the retreat from Dalry, and sir Henry de Bohun, killed by his hand in front of the English army, evince the valorous knight, as the plan of his campaigns exhibit the prudent and sa-

he had sustained for so many years) gained ground upon his remaining strength.

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gacious leader. The Bruce's skill in the military art was of the highest order; and in his testament, as it is called, he bequeathed a legacy to his countrymen, which, had they known how to avail themselves of it, would have saved them the loss of many a bloody day.*

If, however, his precepts could not save the Scottish nation from military losses, his example taught them to support the consequences with unshaken constancy. It is, indeed, to the example of this prince, and to the events of a reign so dear to Scotland, that we can distinctly trace that animated love of country which has been ever since so strong a characteristic of North Britons, that it has been sometimes supposed to limit their affections and services so exclusively within the limits of their countrymen as to render that partiality a reproach which liberally exercised is subject for praise. In the day of Alexander III. and his predecessors, the various tribes whom these kings commanded were divided from each other by language and manners: it was only by residing within the same common country that they were forced into some sort of connection: but after Bruce's death we find little more mention of Scots, Galwegians, Picts, Saxons, or Strath-Clyde Britons. They had all, with the exception of the Highlanders, merged into the single denomination of Scots, and spoke

* These verses are thus given by Mr. Tytler. I have, for the sake of rendering them intelligible, adopted the plan of modern spelling, retaining the ancient language. The original verses are in Latin Leonines

On foot should be all Scottish welre †,
 By bill and moss themselves to bear:
 Let wood for walls be — bow and spear
And battle-axe their fighting fear:
 That enemies do them no drear ‡,
 In strait place cause keep all store,
 And burn the plain land them before;
 Then shall they pass away in haste,
 When that they nothing find but waste;
 With wiles and wakening of the night,
 And mickle noises made on helght;
 Then shall they turn with great affray,
 As they were chased with sword away.
 This is the council and intent
 Of good king Robert's testament.

† War.

‡ Harm.

leaders as Douglas, Randolph, and Stewart to their warriors, and their warriors to them. The faithful brotherhood which mutual dangers and mutual conquests created between the leader and the followers on the one hand, betwixt the king and the barons on the other—the consciousness of a mutual object, which overcame all other considerations, and caused them to look upon themselves as men united in one common interest—taught them at the same time the universal duty of all ranks to their common country, and the sentiments so spiritedly expressed by the venerable biographer of Bruce himself:

*As, first, exhortation to
 Freedom, next, to shared life;
 To mutual love, then, to mutual
 Help, and to mutual office;
 And to the ever-blessed tie,
 May we be like a flock of sheep,
 The wild, the tame, the old, and all;
 The many, and the few, the great, and all.**

CHAP. XIII.

DOUGLAS SETS OUT ON HIS EXPEDITION WITH THE BRUCE'S HEALT: IS KILLED IN BATTLE.—RANDOLPH ASSUMES THE REGENCY.—CLAIMS OF THE DISMISSED ENGLISH BARONS: THEY RESOLVE TO INVADE SCOTLAND, AND ARE HEADED BY EDWARD BALIOL.—DEATH OF RANDOLPH.—FALL OF MAR CHOSEN REGENT.—BATTLE OF BIFFIN MOOR.—FALL OF MARCH WITHDRAWS FROM BIFFIN BATTLE.—EDWARD BALIOL IS CHOSEN KING, BUT INSTANTLY DEPOSED.—SIR ANDREW MORAY CHOSEN REGENT BY THE ROYALISTS, BUT IS MADE PRISONER.—SIEGE OF FEFWICK BY THE ENGLISH.—BATTLE OF HAIDON-HILL.—GREAT LOSS OF THE SCOTS.—THE LOYALISTS ONLY HOLD FOUR CASTLES IN SCOTLAND.—EDWARD BALIOL CRIES TO ENGLAND THE SOUTHERN PARTS OF SCOTLAND.—QUARREL AMONG THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH BARONS.—LIBERATION OF SIR ANDREW MORAY.—RANDOLPH EARL OF MORAY AND THE STEWART ALL REGENTS.—THE LOYALISTS ARE ACTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL.—DEFEAT OF LOCHLEVEN.—DEFEAT OF GUY EARL OF SATHUR ON THE TOROUGH MOOR.—EARL OF ATHOL (DAVID DE STRATHBOGH) DEFEATED AND SLAIN.

* These spirited lines are somewhat modernised.

THE parliamentary settlement at Cambuskenneth had nominated Randolph as regent of the kingdom ; a choice which could not have been amended : but after-circumstances occasioned it to be much regretted that, by devolving on Douglas the perilous and distant expedition to Palestine, Bruce's bequest should have deprived the country of the services of the only noble who could have replaced those of the earl of Moray in case of death or indisposition. And attention is so much riveted on this most unhappy circumstance, for such it certainly proved, that authors have endeavoured to reconcile it to the sagacity of Robert Bruce, by imputing it to a refinement of policy on his part. They suppose that, fearing jealousy and emulation between Douglas and Randolph, when he himself was no longer on the scene, he found an honourable pretext to remove Douglas from Scotland, that Randolph, his nephew, might exercise undisputed authority. The recollection of the field of Stirling, where Douglas reined up his horse, lest he should seem to share Randolph's victory over Clifford ; that, too, of Biland Abbey, where Randolph joined Douglas with only four squires, and served under him as a volunteer, seem to give assurance that these brave men were incapable of any emulation dangerous to their country or prejudicial to their loyalty ; and it will be probably thought that Bruce nourished no such apprehensions, but, lying an excommunicated man upon his deathbed, was induced to propitiate heaven by some act of devotion of unusual solemnity ; a course so consistent with the religious doctrines universally received at the time, that it requires no further explanation.

The issue of the expedition was nevertheless most disastrous to Scotland. The good lord James, having the precious heart under his charge, set out for Palestine with a gallant retinue, and observing great state. He landed at Seville in his voyage, and learning that king Alphonso was at war with the Moors, his zeal to encounter the infidels induced him to offer his services.

ever, till the Scots lost the battle of Halidon-Hill, that this powerful earl and other barons on the eastern marches of Scotland, who had late and unwillingly exchanged their allegiance to England for that to the Bruce, were, now that the constraint imposed by his authority was removed, desirous of returning to their dependence on the English crown, which they found, probably, more nominal than that exacted by their closer neighbours, the Scottish monarchs.

The foreign invasion having thus succeeded, though made on a scale wonderfully in contrast with the extent of the means prepared, the domestic conspiracy was made manifest. The family of Comyn in all its branches, all who resented the proceedings against David de Brechin and the other conspirators condemned by the black parliament; all who had suffered injury, or what they termed such, in the disturbed and violent times, when so much evil was inflicted and suffered on both sides; all, finally, who nourished ambitious projects of rising under the new government, or had incurred neglect during the old one, joined in conducting Edward Baliol to Scone, where he was crowned king in their presence, when (grief and shame to tell!) Sinclair, prelate of Dunkeld, whom the Bruce on account of his gallantry termed his own bishop, officiated at the ceremony of crowning an usurper, to the prejudice of his heroic patron's son.

However marvellous or mortifying this revolution certainly was, it was of a nature far more temporary than that which was effected by Edward I. after the battle of Falkirk. Then all seemed hopeless; and if some patriots still resisted, it was more in desperation than hope of success. Then, though there was a desire to destroy the English yoke, yet there was no agreement or common purpose as to the monarch or mode of government to be substituted. Now there was no room for hesitation. The sound part of the kingdom, which was by far the larger portion, was fixed in the unanimous and steady resolution to replace upon the throne the race of the deliverer of Scotland. And the faith of those who

had been the companion of Wallace, and afterwards the faithful follower of Bruce, who acknowledged his attachment by preferring him to the hand of his sister Christina, a widow, by the death of the heroic Christopher Seaton. Sir Andrew Moray was a soldier of the Bruce's school, calm, sagacious, and dauntlessly brave. His first measure of importance was to remove the persons of the young king and queen to France, where the faith of Philip was engaged for their safety and honourable maintenance. His next undertaking was less fortunate. He made an attempt to take by surprise the castle of Roxburgh, into which Baliol had then thrown himself, and imprudently engaged his own person in the dangerous enterprise. Seeing a valiant esquire in his service, named Ralph Golding, endangered during the assault by a superior number of English, sir Andrew pressed forward to his rescue, and was made prisoner, to the infinite prejudice of the royal cause; his place being poorly supplied by Archibald Douglas, although a brave soldier, and brother to the good lord James. It was a great additional misfortune, that a short time after, in a severe battle which was fought on the borders, the knight of Liddisdale (sir William Douglas, natural son of the good lord James) was defeated in a considerable action, and made prisoner. He was treated with great rigour, and detained captive for two years. Thus was Scotland deprived, in her hour of utmost need, of two more of her choicest soldiers.

1338. Edward III. now prepared to assist his vassal Baliol, and, assembling a large army, came before Berwick, the securing of which place the Scots deemed justly an object of primary consequence, since Baliol had consented to surrender it to England. The earl of March, whose apostasy was not yet suspected, was governor of the castle of Berwick, and sir Alexander Seaton of the town. They defended the place strenuously, and burnt a large vessel with which the English assaulted the walls from the sea. But the garrison were reduced to such distress, that they were compelled, according to the cus-

ditionally surrendered, unless the Scots could succeed in reinforcing the town with two hundred men at arms, or defeating the English in a pitched battle under its walls.

Forgetting or disregarding the earnest admonition of king Robert, the regent Douglas resolved to commit the fate of the country to the risk of a decisive conflict.

June 19. On crossing the Tweed and approaching Berwick on the northern side, the Scottish regent became aware of the army of England drawn up in four great battalions, with numerous bodies of archers to flank them. The ground which they occupied was the crest of an eminence called Halidon-hill. The Scots stationed themselves on the opposite ridge of high ground: the bottom which divided the hills was a morass. On the morning of the 20th, the Scots, with inconsiderate impetuosity, advanced to the onset. By doing so they exposed their whole army, whilst descending the hill and crossing the morass, to the constant and formidable discharge of the English archers, against whom they had no similar force to oppose. The inevitable consequence was that they lost their ranks, and became embarrassed in the morass, where many were slain. But the nobles, who fought on foot in complete armour at the head of their followers, made a desperate effort to lead a great part of the army through the bog, and ascended the opposite hill. They came to close battle with the English, who, calm and in perfect order, were not long in repulsing an attack made by disordered ranks and breathless soldiers. The Scottish, after finding their efforts vain, endeavoured to retreat. In the mean time the pages and camp-followers, who held the horses of the combatants, seeing the battle lost, began to fly, and carry off the horses along with them, without respect to the safety of their masters; so that the carnage in this bloody battle was very great, and numbers of the gentry and nobility fell.

The venerable earl of Lennox, the faithful companion of Robert Bruce, the earls of Ross, Carrick, Sutherland, Monteith, and Athol, were all slain, together with knights

and barons to a countless number, and all with a trifling loss on the part of the English. The regent Douglas himself, wounded and made prisoner, died soon after he was taken. Berwick surrendered in consequence of this decisive action, and the earl of March, governor of the castle, returned openly to the English interest, and was admitted to Edward's favour and confidence.

The Scots had suffered a loss in this action which was deemed by the English totally irrecoverable. "The Scottish wars are ended," said the public voice, "since no one of that nation remains having interest enough to raise an army, or skill sufficient to command one."

Through all Scotland, so lately the undisputed dominions of the Bruce, only four castles and a strong tower which did not reach to the importance of such a title, remained in possession of the royalists who adhered to his unfortunate son. These were, the impregnable fortresses of Dunbarton, which was secured by Malcolm Fleming; Lochleven, on an island in the lake of that name, defended by Alan de Vipont; Urquhart in Inverness, commanded by Thomas Lander; and Kildrummie, by Christina, the sister of king Robert Bruce, successively the widow of the earl of Mar and of Christopher Seaton, and now the wife of the imprisoned sir Andrew Moray. The fifth strong hold was at Lochdown, in Carrick, which John Thomson, a man of obscure birth and dauntless valour, the same apparently who led back from Ireland the shattered remainder of Edward Bruce's army, held out for his rightful sovereign.

Amid this scene of apparent submission, Edward¹³³ Baliol held a mock parliament at Edinburgh for the¹³³ gratification of his ally, the king of England. The obligation of homage and feudal service to the king of England was undertaken by Edward Baliol in the fullest extent; the town of Berwick was given up; and as king Edward was desirous to hold a large portion of Scotland under his immediate and direct authority, Baliol, by a solemn instrument, made an absolute surrender to England of the frontier provinces of *Lowland* and *Highland*.

shire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with Lothian itself, in all its three divisions; thus yielding up the whole land between the northern and southern Roman rampart, and restricting Scotland to the possessions beyond the estuaries of Forth and Clyde, inhabited of old by the free Caledonians. For the remnants of the kingdom, thus mutilated and dismembered, Baliol paid homage. At the same parliament Baliol, by ample cessions and distributions of territory, gratified the disinherited lords, to whose valour he owed his extraordinary success.

A quarrel arose amongst these proud barons which had important consequences. The brother of Alexander de Mowbray died, leaving daughters, but no male issue. Baliol preferred the brother of the deceased to his fiefs, as the heir male. Henry de Beaumont and David Hastings de Strathbogie, earls of Buchan and Athol, espoused the cause of the female heirs; and as Baliol would not listen to them, they left the court in that state of irritation which is easily excited betwixt such powerful subjects and a king of their own making. Alarmed at their defection, Baliol altered his decision, dismissed Alexander de Mowbray's claim, and thereby made him his mortal enemy, while he obtained only a dubious reconciliation with his opponents.

About this time sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, made prisoner, as we have seen, at Roxburgh, escaped or was liberated from prison; and his appearance in Scotland, with the discord among the English barons, was a signal for a general insurrection of the royalists. Moray was joined by the discontented Mowbray. Richard Talbot, marching southward, was attacked and defeated by William Keith of Galston, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Berwick. Sir Andrew Moray, with his new ally, Mowbray, besieged the powerful Henry de Beaumont in his fortress of Dundearg in Buchan, and by cutting off the supplies of water compelled him to surrender, and put him to a great ransom. The impulse became general through Scotland. The Brandaeas or

men of Bute arose against the English captain, slew him, and sent his head to their master, the steward of Scotland. In Annandale and in Ayrshire, where Bruce had his family estates, the royalists gathered on every side. The steward had distinguished himself by his bravery and generosity of disposition. By universal approbation of the royalists this gallant and amiable young man was associated in the regency. The young earl of Moray, son of the heroic Randolph, was returned from France, whither he had fled after the battle of Halidon-hill, and pushed David Hastings of Strathbogie so hard, that he not only compelled him to surrender, but found means to induce him to join the conqueror. Baliol, having seen the defeat of Talbot, the captivity of Beaumont, and the defection of the three most powerful of the *disinherited*, lost courage, and fled into England, thereby showing plainly how slight was his reliance on any support save such as came from that kingdom, and how steadily the great bulk of the Scottish nation were attached to the legitimate heir of Bruce.

Edward III. advanced into Scotland for the double Nov. 1334 purpose of sustaining his vassal, and of securing those southern parts of Scotland which were ceded to him in property and full dominion. He met no opposition, for the Scots brought no army to the field; but he was assailed by want, and the stormy weather incident to the season; and so little was Edward's reputation raised by this incursion, that the earl of March, a nobleman uniformly guided by his own interest, chose that very crisis to renounce the allegiance of England. This time-serving baron probably foresaw the danger of his own power, since it was not likely that Edward would permit him to hold influence in a country which he was desirous in future of annexing to England, although he had little cared how loose the earl's uncontrolled allegiance sate on him while he was a vassal of Scotland.

Alan de Vipont, a Scottish royalist, who defended Lochleven castle against the English, is said about this time to have been pressed hard by a John de Stirling,

a Scottishman apparently, but commanding an army for Baliol: the garrison was straitened by a fort in the churchyard at Kinross; and, it is alleged, by an embankment drawn across the source of the river Leven, where it issues from the lake, the purpose of which was, to lay under water the island and castle, and thereby to make surrender inevitable. But Vipont took the opportunity of a cloudy night to send a boat unperceived down the lake, and cut through the embankment. The accumulated waters broke down in a furious inundation, which swept away the mound, and along with it the enemies who were quartered there for its defence. There are certainly some vestiges, at the exit of the Leven from the lake, which seem to confirm this singular tradition. Some historians only mention the destruction of the English fort by a sally from the garrison, without speaking of the embankment or inundation.

Apr. 1335. The chiefs of the loyal Scots now assembled a parliament at Dairsie, in Fife, in order to settle upon a combined plan of operations for the liberation of the country. But their counsels came to no useful or steady result, chiefly owing to the presumption of David de Strathbogie, earl of Athol, who assumed a species of superiority which the Scottish nobles could not endure. The parliament broke up in great disorder. It may be that this discord was attended with some consequences indirectly advantageous to Scotland. As the parliament could not agree upon raising a large army, they could not commit the imprudence of risking a general action.

uly 1. 1335. In the summer succeeding, Edward again invaded Scotland on the east marches; while Baliol, with a body of Welsh troops and foreigners, entered on the west. They laid waste the country with fire and sword with emulous severity. The Scots kept king Robert's testament in recollection; and lurking among the woods and valleys, they fell by surprise upon such English as separated themselves from the main body, or straggled from the march in their thirst for plunder.

In the end of July, a large body of Flemish men at

arms landed at Berwick, in the capacity of auxiliaries to England. These strangers, commanded by Guy count of Namur, conceiving the country entirely undefended, advanced fearlessly to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, the castle having been demolished. Count Guy had scarce arrived there when an army of Scottish royalists, commanded by the earls of Moray and March and sir Alexander Ramsay, attacked him. The battle took place on the Borough Moor, and was fiercely disputed for some time; till the knight of Liddisdale, who had escaped or been released from his English captivity, swept down from the Pentland hills, and turned the scale of battle. The Flemings retired into the city, and fought their way as they retreated up to the hill where the castle lay in ruins. A close encounter took place during the whole way, and tradition long pointed out the spot at the foot of the Bow, where David de Anand, a Scottish knight of superhuman strength, struck down with his battle-axe one of these mailed foreigners, killing horse and man, and shattering a huge flagstone in the pavement, by a single blow. The Flemings erected a breastwork or fortification on the Castle-hill by killing their horses, and making a barricade of the carcasses. This, however, could be but a temporary resource, and they were speedily obliged to capitulate. The Scots treated their valiant prisoners with much courtesy, releasing them on their parole not to fight against David, and sending an escort to see the foreigners safe into England. Unhappily, the regent earl of Moray went himself with the party, and on his return towards Lothian, after dismissing the Flemings, was attacked by William de Pressen, commander of the English garrison of Jedburgh castle, his followers routed, and himself made prisoner, and thrown into Bamborough castle. Thus the services of the worthy successor of Randolph were, for a time, lost to his country. The English continued their ravages, and with such success, that men were reduced to use that sort of lip-homage which the heart refuses. "If you asked a grown up per-

son," says an old historian, "who was his king, he dared make no other answer save by naming Edward Baliol; while the undissembling frankness of childhood answered the same question with the name of David Bruce."

Scotland being in this low condition, and Edward having exercised such means of subduing the spirit of insurrection as could be brought against a disposition which showed itself every where, but was tangible nowhere, the English king began to think of returning to his own kingdom. But previously he received the submission of the versatile earl of Athol, restored to that powerful nobleman his large English estates, and named him regent or governor of Scotland under Baliol. The steward, over whom this David de Strathbogie seems to have possessed but too much influence, was also induced, contrary to his interests, as nearly concerned in the succession, to acknowledge Baliol as his sovereign. After fortifying Perth, and rebuilding the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, Edward the third returned to his own dominions.

The irresistible pressure of immediate superiority of force being once more removed, the spirit of determined resistance began again to manifest itself. The Scottish loyalists once more chose for their head sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the friend of Wallace, the brother-in-law of Bruce. Athol, eager to give himself consequence in the eyes of Edward, and obliterate the recollection of his prior tergiversations, had determined to besiege the castle of Kildrummie in Aberdeenshire, the residence of Christina, the sister of Robert Bruce, and wife of sir Andrew Moray. Moray, joined by the earl of March and the knight of Liddisdale, flew to the relief of the place. They assembled about fifteen hundred followers, partly men of Lothian and Berwickshire, partly from the territory of Kildrummie. They came suddenly on the earl of Athol, then lying in the fort of Kilblain, whose troops, suddenly and fiercely attacked in a species of pass, gave way on all sides. The earl

of Athol was steady in personal courage, though fickle in political attachment: he looked round with scorn on his fugitive followers, and striking his hand on a huge rock which lay near him said, "Thou and I will this day fly together." Five knights of his household abode, fought, and fell with him, refusing all quarter. The death of the earl of Athol was considered by the loyalists as a most favourable event, as his power, and latterly his inclination also, made him a sworn persecutor of their party.

Edward himself advanced to avenge the death of a powerful, if not a steady, partisan. He led into Scotland a numerous army, which wasted the country as far north as Inverness. But though he was an enemy skilful to omit no advantage which accident, the situation of ground, or the circumstances of weather afford, yet, in the far-sighted prudence of the experienced sir Andrew Moray, Edward III. found a complete match for his youthful ardour, and was no more able to bring his sagacious opponent to action than he had been to engage Douglas and Randolph in the Northumbrian campaign of 1327. The following instance of Moray's skill, courage, and discipline may give some idea of the composure with which he baffled the ardent valour of the hero of Crèssy.

When at Perth, Edward was informed that the Scottish regent was lying with his forces in the forest of Stronkaltire (probably a portion of the famous wood of Birnam), near the foot of the Grampians, and on the verge of the Highlands. The most skilful dispositions were made by the king to surround the enemy, and the English had already moved several divisions on different parts of the forest with a view to prevent their escape. Sir Andrew Moray was hearing mass in a chapel in the forest when the Scottish scouts came to tell him of the approach of the enemy. He caused them to be silent till the divine service was finished. Mass being ended, his breathless messengers informed him that the English were at hand. "Be it so," said Moray; "no need of hurry." He

then armed himself deliberately, and caused his war-horse to be brought him. When in the act of mounting, he perceived a girth had failed. With the utmost deliberation the veteran warrior called for a certain coffer, out of which he took a hide of leather, and having cut from it a strap proper for the purpose, sitting down on the bank, he composedly mended the girth with his own hands, although, to the great anxiety of all around him, news came in on all hands of the close approach of the enemy from different points; and old warriors, who were present, confessed to the historian, Winton, prior of Lochleven, that in their life they had never passed such anxious moments as during the mending of that saddle-girth. But Moray knew his time and his business, and when he mounted and placed himself at the head of his men, whom his own composure had taught to have the most undoubting reliance on him, he drew them up in a close column, and while the English sought an opportunity of attack, he led his band leisurely from their presence, and vanished in safety through a defile which he had kept open in his rear.

Edward III. penetrated as far as the rich province of Moray, carrying devastation wherever he came. But he had then done the utmost which was in his power, and was compelled to retreat by the consequences to his own army of the very desolation which they themselves had made. He repaired the castles held by English garrisons through the kingdom, and marched back to England, leaving Scotland apparently quiet. But no sooner was the weight and presence of the English host withdrawn than all the Scottish patriots were again in arms in every quarter of the country, assaulting and storming, or surprising by stratagem, the garrisons that had been left to overawe them, and proving that they were worthy to have been subjects of the Bruce, by the intelligence with which they executed his precepts. The regent distinguished himself in this war as much by his alertness in seizing opportunities of advantage, as he had done when opposed to Edward by the prudence which affords none to the enemy.

Stirling, which was boldly defended. He showed the hardihood of his character during a total eclipse of the sun, which took place in the midst of his operations. While all others, both in the besieging army and garrison, were sinking under their superstitious fears, Bullock took advantage of the darkness to wheel his military engines so close to the wall, that when the sunshine returned, the besieged found themselves under the necessity of surrendering. The steward was equally successful in reducing Stirling and other English posts to the north of the Forth, and bringing the whole country to the peace of king David.

Other Scottish leaders distinguished themselves in different provinces. Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddisdale, was active in the south of Scotland. He totally expelled the English from Teviotdale, reduced the strong castle of Hermitage, defeated Roland de Vaux, and having engaged sir Lawrence Abernethy, an Anglicised Scotsman, three times in one day, finally overcame him in a fourth encounter, made him prisoner, and dispersed his followers. A still more important acquisition on the Scottish part was that of Edinburgh castle, which Edward III. had fortified when in Scotland during his last campaign. The knight of Liddisdale engaged a sturdy mariner, called John Currie, to receive into his bark a number of proved soldiers. John Currie, assuming the character of an English shipmaster, entered the castle with a number of men disguised in mariners' caps and habits, and bearing barrels and hampers supposed to contain wine and provisions: these they threw down in the gateway, so as to prevent the gates being shut, and, drawing their swords, rushed on the sentinels, and being seconded by the knight of Liddisdale and some chosen men who lay in ambush near the entrance, they overpowered the English garrison, and expelled them from the castle.

Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsey, the same who gallantly relieved the castle of Dunbar, yielded to none of the champions whom we have named in devotion to

Hawick, dispersed his few attendants, wounded him while on the bench of justice, threw him on a horse, and through many a wild bog and mountain path carried him to his solitary and desolate castle of the Hermitage, where he cast him into the dungeon of that lonely and darksome fortress. The noble captive was left with his rankling wounds to struggle with thirst and hunger, supporting for some time a miserable existence by means of grain which fell from a granary above, until death relieved him from suffering.

The most disgraceful part of this hideous story remains to be told. David, whose favour, imprudently evinced, had caused the murder of the noble Ramsay, saw himself obliged, by the weakness of his government and the pressure of the disorderly times, not only to pardon the inhuman assassin, but to grace him with the keeping of the castle of Roxburgh, which the valour of his murdered victim had won from the enemy, and the sheriffdom of the county, which was rendered vacant by his murder. It is scarce possible to give a more deplorable instance of those wretched times, in which the great stood above all law, human and divine, and indulged their furious passions not only with impunity but with an enlarged scope to their ambition. Neither was the act of cruelty attended with any blot upon his fame, since the knight of Liddisdale, who, before Ramsay's murder, had been distinguished by the splendid title of the Flower of Chivalry, continued to retain it after that atrocious transaction.

A fate similar to that of Ramsay was sustained by a victim less deserving of pity. Bullock, the fighting ecclesiastic, who had deserted the standards of England for those of Scotland, and had taken so great a share in the reduction of Perth, was suddenly, by the royal order, seized on by sir David Berkeley, thrown into the castle of Lochendorb in Morayshire, and there, like Ramsay, starved to death. A Scottish historian makes this melancholy remark on his fate: "It is an ancient saying, that neither the powerful, nor the valiant, nor the wise

long flourish in Scotland, since envy obtaineth the mastery of them all."

In the meanwhile the war of the contending nations disturbed the frontiers with mutual incursions, which added much to public misery, though they did little towards the decision of the war; and casting our eyes back on the consequences of continued hostilities of the most desolating nature, we see effects so frightful as if God and man had alike determined upon the total destruction of the country. Betwixt the desultory ravages of the English and those exercised upon system by the Scottish leaders, all the regular practice of agriculture was interrupted year after year, and the produce in a great measure destroyed. A great famine was the consequence; the land that once bore crops was left uncultivated, waste, and overgrown with briars and thickets, while wolves and wild deer approached, contrary to their nature, the dwellings of man. The starving sufferers were compelled to feed on substances most abhorrent to human appetite; and one wretch, called Christian Cleik, with his wife, subsisted on the flesh of children whom they caught in traps and devoured. These wretched cannibals were detected, condemned, and burned to death.

Famine, and the wretched shifts by which men strove to avoid its rage, brought on disease, their natural consequence. A pestilence swept the land, and destroyed many of the enfeebled inhabitants, while others emigrated to France and Flanders, forsaking a country on which it seemed to have pleased Heaven to empty the bitterest vials of its wrath. And the termination of these misfortunes was far distant.

CHAP. XIV.

KING DAVID'S CHARACTER. — INVASION OF ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF BURNHALL. — THE BORDER COUNTIES ARE CONQUERED. — THE STEWARD DEFENDS THE COUNTRY BEYOND THE FORTH; AND DOUGLAS RECOVERS ETRICK FOREST AND TREVORTDALE. — A TRUCE WITH ENGLAND. — DAVID II. RECOGNISES THE SUPREMACY OF EDWARD; BUT HIS SUBJECTS REFUSE TO DO SO. — THE KNIGHT OF LINDISDALE SEDUCED FROM HIS ALLEGIANCE: SLAIN BY HIS GODSON, LORD DOUGLAS. — TREATY FOR THE KING'S RANSOM IS BROKEN OFF BY THE INTERFERENCE OF FRANCE. — BATTLE OF NESHIT-MOOR. — ATTEMPT ON BERNWICK, WHICH IS RELIEVED BY EDWARD III. — HE INVADERS SCOTLAND. — THE BURNT GARDEN. — THE ENGLISH ARE COMPELLED TO RETREAT. — KING DAVID IS RELEASED FROM CAPTIVITY. — HIS PETULANT TEMPER. — HIS REPEATED VISITS TO ENGLAND, AND THE INFLUENCE ACQUIRED OVER HIM BY EDWARD. — HE PROPOSES THAT THE SUCCESSION OF SCOTLAND SHOULD GO TO EDWARD'S SON LIONEL. — THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT REJECT THE PROPOSAL. — INSURRECTION OF THE STEWARD AND OTHER NOBLES: IT IS SUPPRESSED, AND TRANQUILLITY RESTORED. — NEW SCHEME OF EDWARD AND DAVID, WHICH IS LAID ASIDE AS IMPRACTICABLE. — DAVID II. MARRIES MARGARET LOGIE, A BEAUTIFUL FLEEBIAN. — TREATY OF PEACE INTERRUPTED BY DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE KING'S RANSOM, WHICH ARE FINALLY REMOVED. — DIVORCE BETWEEN DAVID AND HIS QUEEN. — DEATH OF DAVID II. — HIS CHARACTER. — STATE OF SCOTLAND DURING HIS REIGN.

David the second was, as might be expected from the son of Robert Bruce, dauntlessly intrepid. He possessed a goodly person (a strong recommendation to the common people), and skill in martial exercises. But his education at the court of France had given him an uncontrollable love of pleasure; and such a propensity, while it resolves itself into the principle of intense selfishness, forms the very reverse of the public-spirited and disinterested character of a patriot king. He was young also, being only about eighteen when he landed at Inverberrie, and totally inexperienced. Such was the situation and disposition of the juvenile king of a country at once assailed by foreign war with an enemy of superior force,

by civil faction and discord in its most frightful shape, by raging pestilence and wasting famine. It was only the additional curse of a weak and imprudent prince that could have added fresh gall to so much bitterness.

The ablest and most trust-worthy counsellor whom David could have consulted was unquestionably the steward, who had held the regency till he resigned it on the king's arrival. But, failing heirs of David's body, of which none as yet existed, the steward was heir of the throne, and princes seldom love or greatly trust their successors when not of their own immediate family.

As Edward was absent in France, the time had seemed favourable for an attack upon the frontiers. Several attempts were made without decisive success on either side, which led to a truce of two years, ending on Martinmas 1346. This cessation of arms was made between England and France, and Scotland was included. David and his subjects, however, became weary of the truce, which was broken off by a fierce incursion of the knight of Liddisdale into England. In 1344 David prepared for an invasion upon a much larger scale, and summoned the whole array of Scotland, whither Highland or lowland, to assemble at Perth. They came in great numbers, and Reginald or Randal of the isles, in particular, appeared with a strong body of his followers. Unhappily there was a deadly feud betwixt this island lord and the powerful earl of Ross. By the machinations of the latter chief, Reginald was murdered by a faithless harper, while in the monastery of Elcho, near Perth. The assassin, with his numerous followers, retired from the king's host for fear of punishment. The men of the isles, disgusted with the loss of their lord, and apprehensive of evil consequences, broke up, and, deserting the royal standard, retired home in disorder, leaving the king's army much diminished in numbers. David, however, determined to proceed on his expedition. He entered England from the western frontier. A fortress called the Moat of Liddell was held out stoutly by Walter Selby, the accomplice of the famous Middle-

ton in the spoliation of the two cardinals and bishop elect of Durham, and various other acts of robbery. At present he seems to have been engaged in the lawful defence of England, his native country; and we are, therefore, startled when we learn that the fortress being stormed, the governor was by king David ordered to be beheaded; for what crime against that prince is not apparent.

Moving eastward to Hexham, David's army marked its progress by the usual course of ferocious devastation, the more censured in that age, because the patrimony of Saint Guthbert experienced no favour or protection. The great northern barons of England, Percy and Neville, Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, assembled their forces in numbers sufficient to show that, though the conqueror of Cressy with his victorious army was absent in France, there were Englishmen enough left at home to protect the frontiers of his kingdom from violation. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, the prelates of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, sent their retainers, and attended the rendezvous in person to add religious enthusiasm to the patriotic zeal of the barons. Ten thousand soldiers, who had been sent over to Calais to reinforce Edward the third's army, were countermanded in this exigency, and added to the northern army.

Upon hearing of this formidable assembly of forces, the knight of Liddisdale advised the Scottish king to retreat, and avoid a pitched battle. But the other barons, conceiving they saw a rich scene of plunder before them, would not listen to this counsel, which they imputed to the selfishness of Douglas, who, having enriched himself by English spoils, was now desirous, they thought, to abridge the opportunity of others to obtain their share. King David advanced to the park called Beaurepaire, near Durham (by corruption Bear-park), and took up his quarters there, although the ground was so intersected by inclosures as to render it difficult to draw up the troops in order, and impossible for the divisions duly to support each other.

The knight of Liddisdale had advanced, on the morn-1346.

ing of the 17th October, with four hundred men at arms, to collect forage and provisions, when, at Ferry on the Auckland, where they had assembled, towards Sanderson land. His forces being totally inadequate to make a stand, the Scottish commander endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to retreat. He was attacked, charged, routed, and suffered great loss. He and the remains of his division had but time to gallop into the Scottish camp and give the alarm, when the enemy were upon them.

The Scottish army was hastily drawn up in three divisions, as well as the broken and subdivided nature of the ground permitted. The right was commanded by the earl of Moray; the centre by the king in person; the left by the knight of Liddisdale, the steward of Scotland, and the earl of Dunbar. This arrangement was hardly accomplished ere the English archers, to the number of ten thousand, came within sight. An experienced commander, sir John de Graham, foreseeing the fatal consequences which were to ensue, entreated the king to permit him to charge the archers with a body of cavalry. "Give me," he said, "but one hundred horse; I will be answerable for riding them down, and dispersing them." "But, to speak truth," says the old historian Fordun, "de Graham could not obtain a single horseman." The reason might be, that the loss at Ferry-hill, that same morning, had fallen chiefly on the Scottish men at arms, and that they had been thus rendered to a great degree unserviceable; but it is more generally attributed to the caprice and wilfulness of the young king. Graham attempted with his own followers to make the desired manœuvre; but being far too few to make the necessary impression on the archers, they were beaten off, and himself escaped with difficulty. The unerring shower of arrows then commenced, and flew without intermission against the Scots as thick as hail, and they were at the same time charged by the men at arms and bill-men. The numerous inclosures cramped and inter-

rupted their system of defence, and at length the right wing, under the earl of Moray, began to fly. The English cavalry broke down on them, and completed the rout. They were thrown into complete disorder and then flight, which afforded the English an opportunity to attack the division of the king at once upon the left flank, now uncovered, and on the front. Amid repeated charges, and the most dispiriting slaughter by the continuous discharge of the English arrows, David showed that he had the courage though not the talents of his father. He was twice severely wounded with arrows, but continued to encourage to the last the few of his peers and officers who were still fighting around him. At length, in a close *mêlée*, a Northumberland knight, named Copland, grappled with David, and made him prisoner, but not before the king had struck out two of Copland's front teeth with his guntlet.

On the fall of the royal banner, the steward and the earl of March, who had not as yet sustained much loss, despairing of being able to aid the king or restore the battle, withdrew from the field in tolerable order, and carried their division and such as rallied under their standards back into Scotland. David II., it has been thought, considered this retreat as resembling a desertion, the more suspicious, as the next heir to the crown was at its head. The captive king was conveyed to London, and afterwards, in solemn procession, to the Tower, attended by a guard of twenty thousand men, and all the city companies in complete pageantry. There were made prisoners with David Bruce the earls of Rife, Monteith, and Wigton, as also the knight of Liddisdale, who apparently had put himself into that predicament by his advancing to support the king, since he might otherwise have retreated with the steward and the earl of March, whose command he shared. About fifty barons had the same fate.

There remained slain on the fatal field of Neville's Cross the earls of Moray and Strathern, David de la Hay, the high constable of Scotland, Robert Keith the great

ing of the 17th October, with four hundred men at arms, to collect forage and provisions, when, at Ferry on the whole English army, then on their march from Bishop Auckland, where they had assembled, towards Sunderland, His forces being totally inadequate to make a stand, the Scottish commander endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to retreat. He was attacked, charged, routed, and suffered great loss. He and the remains of his division had but time to gallop into the Scottish camp and give the alarm, when the enemy were upon them.

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marshal, the chamberlain, and the chancellor, with very many men of rank. Of the lower classes, at least fifteen thousand are computed to have fallen.

The nation of Scotland was but beginning to draw its breath after its unparalleled sufferings during the civil war, when it was, to all appearance, totally prostrated by the blow to which David had imprudently exposed his realm. The whole border counties of Scotland surrendered themselves without attempting an unavailing defence. The line of the frontiers was carried northward to the southern borders of Lothian, and extended betwixt Colbrand's Path and the Soltra hills, and was afterwards pushed still farther north, for it finally ran betwixt Carlops and Crosserhne.

The king of England abused his victory by cruelty. He brought two of his noble captives, the earls of Montecith, and Duncan earl of Fife, for having turned to Bruce's party, after having been liegemen to Baliol, and, like a similar example of modern times, he transmitted to the judges with the commission for trying the prisoners a scroll of the doom previously fixed by himself and his privy council. The decision of a court so well instructed in its duty was no matter of question. Both earls were convicted of high treason, and the earl of Montecith suffered the hideous punishment annexed to that crime by the English law.

Yet while thus severely punishing those who had been traitors, as it was called, to Baliol, Edward had no purpose of restoring to his ally any delegated power in Scotland. The ex-king had, since his repeated expulsion from his kingdom, lived upon appointments afforded him from England, and acted more as a lieutenant of the English marches than a prince having a right to the Scottish throne, nor did the victory of Neville's Cross extend his authority. On the contrary, the English barons Lucy, Dacre, and Umfraville received a commission to accept the allegiance which it was supposed the humbled inhabitants of Scotland would be willing universally to transfer to king Edward in person.

Upon this, however, as well as other occasions of imminent peril, the Scottish people, on the very brink of ruin as an independent nation, found a remedy in their own dauntless courage. The nobility who had escaped from the field of Neville's Cross restored the steward of Scotland, heir of the crown, to the regency of the kingdom, in place of the imprisoned king. Yielding up the southern provinces, which he could not defend, the steward placed the country north of the Forth in as strong a posture as he could, and amid terror and disturbance maintained a show of government and good order. At this critical period William lord Douglas returned from France, where he had been bred to arms, and, with the active valour of his uncle the good lord James, expelled the English invaders from his own domains of Douglas-dale, and in process of time from Etrick forest and Teviotdale, provinces of which the warlike population had been long followers of this chivalrous family.

The consequences of these successes would probably have been a furious invasion of Scotland, had it depended entirely upon the will of Edward III. But the consent of the English barons was necessary, and they were little disposed to aid in a renewal of those expensive and destructive hostilities which had been so often and so fruitlessly waged against Scotland. The king of England, therefore, reluctantly consented to a truce with the steward, which he renewed from time to time, as he began to conceive designs of at once filling his coffers with a large ransom for his royal prisoner, David, and to secure a right of succession to the Scottish throne by other means than open war.

With this view, the royal captive was treated with more kindness than at first, and (to sharpen, perhaps, his appetite for restoration to freedom and to his kingdom) he was allowed to visit Scotland, on making oath and finding hostages to return in a time limited. Impatient as his predecessor William the Lion, David seems to have been ready to submit his kingdom to the sovereignty of Edward, and yield up once more the

question of supremacy, in order to obtain his personal freedom. He appears even to have taken some steps for that purpose. Two instruments remain, by which David recognises the title of Edward as lord paramount, and agrees to take the oath of homage. The purpose of his temporary liberation being partly to give him an opportunity of sounding the opinion and sentiments of his people on this important point, the English commissioners were empowered to protract his term of absence, if they should think the execution of a treaty on such a foundation could be advanced by it. But when the pulse of the Scottish nobles was sounded on this subject, they made an unanimous declaration, that though they would joyfully impoverish themselves to purchase with money the freedom of their sovereign, they would never agree to surrender, for that or any other object, the independence of their country. David was therefore obliged to return to his captivity.

Mr. Tytler conjectures, that it was as a subsidiary part of this agreement between the two kings, that Edward III. entered into a sort of treaty with the knight of Liddisdale, also a prisoner in England since the battle of Neville's Cross, by which the latter, assuming a treasonable independence, and renouncing, under a thin and affected disguise, the allegiance and duty which he owed to his own king and country, became bound to admit Englishmen to pass through his territories at all times, and for all purposes; engaged to keep on foot a body of men for the service of Edward; and, in short, transferred to the English king those military services which he owed to his native country. The consideration for this treacherous desertion was his liberation from prison, a grant by king Edward of the lands and lordship of Liddisdale and the castle of Hermitage, with some possessions in the mountains of Annandale. We can hardly think that the whole of this treaty was known to David, although it is probable he was aware that the knight of Liddisdale was disposed to favour an alliance with England. But, whether with or without the knowledge of his sovereign, too

certain it is, to borrow the pathetic language of lord Hailes, that, "thus in an evil hour did sir William Douglas at once cancel the merit of former achievements, and, for the possession of a precarious inheritance, transmit his name to posterity in the roll of timeservers and traitors." The knight of Liddisdale's schemes, indeed, were baffled almost as soon as formed. He had not long been in possession of the freedom thus basely obtained, before he was waylaid and slain, while hunting in Etrick's forest*, by his own kinsman and godson, William lord of Douglas. The contemporary historians are at a loss whether to ascribe this act of violence on the part of lord Douglas to domestic jealousy or to revenge for the murder of July 19. 1354 Ramsay and that of sir David Berkeley, assassinated by the command of the knight of Liddisdale while he was yet captive in London. But, in our time, the knowledge having emerged of Liddisdale's traitorous engagement with Edward, we can easily conceive that lord Douglas may have taken his kinsman's life as that of a traitor to the kingdom, and a dangerous rival in his own family rights. Shortly after this incident, a treaty for the ransom of David was agreed upon by commissioners at New-castle, for ninety thousand marks sterling, which sum was to be paid up by instalments of ten thousand marks yearly. All the nobility of the kingdom, and all the merchants, were to become bound for the regular payment of these large sums. The greater part of the Scottish nobles thought this an exorbitant demand for the liberty of a prince of moderate talents, without heirs of his body, and attached to idle pleasures. While the estates were doubting whether or not the treaty should be ratified, the arrival of a brave French knight, de Garenquieres, with a small but selected body of knights and esquires, and a large sum of forty thousand *mou-* *tons* of gold, to be distributed among the Scots nobles on

* The spot is called, in old histories, Galsewood or Galseford. Tradition fixes it at William's Cross, betwixt Tweed and Yarrow, where a cross is said to have long existed in memory of the incident. Liddisdale were first performed, is exactly half way betwixt William's Cross and Melrose, where the body was finally interred.

condition of their breaking the truce and invading England, decided their resolution. They readily adopted, at whatever future risk, the course which was attended with receiving money instead of that which involved their own paying it. Indeed, the Northumbrian borders themselves made the first aggression, by invading and spoiling the lands of the earl of March. The Douglas and the earl of March determined on reprisals.

These Scottish nobles conducted their inroad as men well acquainted with the stratagems of border warfare. A strong advance party of five hundred men was sent into Northumberland under command of sir William Ramsay (son of the murdered sir Alexander), while the two earls with the main body remained in ambush at a place called Nisbet, within the Scottish frontier. Ramsay speedily swept together a great spoil, and proceeded, according to his instructions, to drive them into Scotland, under the full view of the garrison of Norham. Fired at this insult, sir Thomas Gray, governor of the castle, rushed out at the head of a select body of men at arms, and pursuing Ramsay, who retreated before him, fell into the ambuscade which had been laid for him, and, after a most chivalrous defence, was defeated and made prisoner. Another, though momentary gleam of success, shone on the Scottish arms. The earls of Angus and March, assisted by the French auxiliaries, made themselves masters of the important town of Berwick, but failed to obtain possession of the castle. At this important crisis, the French, who had done various feats of arms under Eugene de Garenieres, took their leave and returned home, disgusted with the service in Scotland. Their national valour induced them to face with readiness the dangers of the warfare; but their manners and habits made them impatient of the rough fare and fierce manners of their allies.

Edward III. no sooner heard of the defeat at Nisbet and the surprise of Berwick, than he passed over from Calais, and appeared before the town with a great part of that veteran army which had been so often victorious

in France, and large reinforcements, who cumulated their valour. His whole army amounted to eighty thousand men. The Scots who had gained the town had had no time to store themselves with provisions, or make other preparations for defence. They were not, besides, in possession of the castle, from which they were liable to be attacked, while the king of England should storm the walls. They capitulated, therefore, for permission to evacuate the town, of which Edward obtained possession by the terror of his appearance alone.

Berwick regained, it was now the object of Edward III. to march into Scotland, and to put a final end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars so repeatedly offered to his operations in France. He determined, being now in possession of all means supposed adequate to the purpose, to make a final conquest of the kingdom, and forcibly unite it, as his grandfather had joined Wales, to the larger and richer portion of the island.

But as, like that grandfather, Edward III. had not leisure to conquer kingdoms for other men, it was necessary for him to clear the way of the claims of Baliol, whom he had hitherto professed to regard as the legitimate king of Scotland. This was easily arranged; for Edward Baliol was, in the hands of Edward III., a far more flexible tool than his father had proved in those of Edward I. Being a mere phantom, whom Edward could summon upon the scene and dismiss at pleasure, he was probably very easily moulded to the purpose of the king of England, and of free consent and good will underwent the ceremony of degradation, to which his father, after failing in all attempts at resistance, had been compelled to submit, and which procured him the dishonourable nickname of *Tom-tabard*, or *Empty Jacket*. Edward Baliol appeared before Edward attired in all the symbols of royalty, of which he formally divested himself, and laying his golden crown at the feet of the English king, ceded to him all right, title, and interest which he had or might claim in the sovereignty of Scotland. The causes inducing him to this transference and

countering the enemy in pitched battle and in the open field, resolved to practise the lessons of defensive war, which had been bequeathed to them by their deliverer, king Robert. Time was, however, required to lay the country waste, to withdraw the inhabitants, and take the other precautions necessary for this stern and desolating species of resistance. For this purpose earl Douglas was sent to king Edward to protract time as long as he could with offers of negotiation. He succeeded in obtaining a truce of ten days, during the greater part of which he remained in the English camp, and then left it, exulting in having obtained the necessary space for defensive preparations, of which his countrymen had made excellent use.

Scotland was now somewhat in the same condition as when invaded in 1322, but thus far worse situated, that as Edward III. was an heroic character a hundred times more formidable than his father, so the chiefs whom Scotland had now to oppose against the victor, at whose name France trembled, were as far inferior in talents to the Bruce. They were imbued, however, with his sentiments, and were determined to act upon them; and thus being dead, king Robert might be said still to direct the Scottish army.

Edward no sooner entered Scotland than he found his troops in want of every species of supply, save what they bore along with them. The villages and farm-yards were silent, and vacant alike of men, grain, and cattle. Within the circuit of an ordinary foraging party, no species of supply was to be found. If any ventured beyond the reach of speedy and instant support, they were overwhelmed by the Scots, who, lying in ambush in glens, morasses, and forests, pounced on them from all sides, and gave no quarter. Incensed at the difficulties and privations by which he was surrounded, and conscious that he had been overreached by Douglas in the previous negotiation, Edward vented his wrath in reckless and indiscriminate destruction, burning every town and village which he approached, without sparing

not that by some agreement with the selfish prince he might secure that interest in Scotland and its government of which the people were so jealous. A preliminary step to such an intrigue was the delivery of David from his long captivity, and the establishment of peace between the nations.

By the final agreement between the commissioners for Oct.

each kingdom, David's ransom, augmented since the last 3.

treaty, was fixed at one hundred thousand marks, to be

discharged by partial payments of ten thousand marks

yearly. The nobles, churchmen, and burghesses of Scot-

land bound themselves to see the instalments regularly

paid; and three nobles of the highest rank, who might,

however, be exchanged for others of the same degree

from time to time, together with twenty young men of

quality, the son of the steward being included, were

surrendered to England as hostages. Thus was David

restored to freedom eleven years after having been made

prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. The terms,

on the whole, were rather more severe than those pro-

posed three years before, when the treaty was broken off

by the interest of France.

The first thing, after his return, which marked the

tendency of David's political feelings and attachments

was his predilection for visits to England, and long re-

sidences there, which became so frequent as to excite

a feeling among his subjects that they did but waste

their substance in needlessly ransoming a sovereign who

preferred the land of his captivity to his own domi-

nions. A trifling incident, also, occurred soon after his

liberation, which manifested an arrogant, vain, and un-

feeling temper. As the people, eager to see their long-

absent king, pressed into his presence with more affec-

tion than reverence, David snatched a mace from an

attendant, and laying about him - with his own royal

hand, taught his liege subjects in future to put their

loyal feelings under more ceremonial restraint.

A species of intimacy, in which Edward trusted to

and his advantage, was now encouraged between his

dominions and Scotland. Licences were given to traders, to pilgrims, natives of both countries, to youth of quality desirous of receiving education at the English universities, to all, in short, who could allege a reasonable cause for visiting the English dominions. The Scottish nobles were welcomed when they visited the English court. This liberal line of conduct was no doubt designed to dazzle the eyes of the Scots with the superior wealth and splendour of their powerful neighbours; and to engage them in such friendly transactions and relations as might smooth down the prejudices which had been the natural growth of so many years' war. All these were fair and laudable objects; but the king of England sought them with a sinister and selfish purpose.

The weakness of David, who had shown himself willing, would his subjects have permitted him, to sacrifice to Edward the independence of Scotland, by acknowledging him as lord paramount, had encouraged the king of England to propose that, in place of the steward of Scotland, the grandson of Robert Bruce by his daughter Maryory, Lionel duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III. himself, should be called to succeed to the crown of Scotland. This project seems to have been kept closely concealed from the Scottish nation at large until the month of March, 1363, when David Bruce ventured to bring it himself before the estates of the Scottish parliament, convened to meet at Scone. The king of Scotland had lately become a widower, by the death of queen Joanna, during one of her visits to England. This makes it seem more extraordinary that he should desire the substitution of an English prince in the succession of the crown, since David might justly have apprehended that if, in the case of probable events, he himself might marry again and have children, the king of England would not have brooked to see the hope of his son's succession blighted, even by the birth of heirs of his own body. Undeterred by this motive, powerful as it might be, David Bruce proposed to the estates of Scotland, "that, in the event of his dying without heirs, the

should settle the crown on one of the sons of the king of England. He particularly recommended the duke of Clarence as a worthy object of their choice, hinted that this would insure a constant peace between the two nations of Britain, and become the means to induce the king of England to resign, formally and forever, all pretensions to the feudal supremacy, which had been the cause of such fatal struggles."

"The estates of Scotland listened with sorrow and indignation to such a proposition, coming as it did from the lips of their sovereign, the son of the heroic Robert Bruce. Instantly and unanimously they replied, "that they would never permit an Englishman to rule over them; that, by solemn acts of settlement sworn to in parliament, the steward of Scotland was called to the crown in default of the present king or issue of his body; that he was a brave man, and worthy of the succession: from which, therefore, they refused to exclude him, by preferring the son of an alien enemy."

King David received, doubtless, this blunt refusal, which necessarily inflicted a severe personal reproach, with shame and mortification, but made no reply; and the parliament, passing to other matters, appointed commissioners to labour at the great work of converting the present precarious truce between England and Scotland into a steady and permanent peace.

But the proposal of altering the destination of the crown, although apparently passed from or withdrawn, remained tacitly rooted in the minds of those whose interests had been assailed by it. The steward and his adherents had been assailed by it. The king, armed in his turn, not, as he alleged, to enforce an alteration of the succession, but to restore great order, and compel the associated lords to lay down their arms, in which he was successful. The steward and his adherents submitted themselves, armed by

the unexpected spirit displayed by the king, and the numerous party which continued to adhere to him. Stewart himself, together with Douglas, March, and others associated in the league, were contented to renounce the obligation in open parliament, convened at Inchmurdoch. The steward, upon the same occasion, swore on the gospels true liegdom and fealty to David, under the penalty of forfeiting not only his own life and lands, but his and his family's title of succession to the throne. In recompense of this prompt return to the duty of a subject, as well as to soothe the apprehensions for national independence which the proposal of the king had excited, the right of succession to the throne, as solemnly established in the steward and his sons, was fully recognised, and the earldom of Carrick, once a title of Robert Bruce, was conferred on his eldest son, afterwards Robert III. The imprudent David had hardly ratified the proceedings of the parliament of Scone, ere, forgetful of the danger he had lately incurred, he repaired to London, and renewed with Edward III. those intrigues, which had for their object the alteration of the succession. A new plan was now drawn up for this purpose, at a conference held between the two kings and certain selected counsellors, Nov. 23. 1368. By this the king of England, Edward III., was himself to be declared heir of king David, in case the former should die without issue male. Twenty-seven conditions followed, the object of most of which seems to have been to reconcile the Scottish people to the sway of an English monarch, by imparting to them a share in the advantages of English trade, by ratifying to North Britain its laws and independence, a separate kingdom, and, above all, by discharging the ransom, which continued a heavy burden upon Scotland, of which only a tenth part had been yet paid. The national pride was to be flattered by the restoration of the fatal stone of inauguration, on which it was proposed that the king of England himself should be crowned; Scone, after the Scottish manner. All claim of supremacy was to be renounced, and the independence of

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the decided enemy of English influence. The penalties and arrears were now computed to amount to one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by instalments of six thousand marks yearly. The truce was prolonged for about three years. These payments, though most severe on the nation of Scotland, seem to have been made good with regularity by means of the taxes which the Scottish parliament had imposed for betraying them: so that in 1369 the truce between the nations was continued for fourteen years, and the English conceded that the balance of the ransom, amounting still to fifty-six thousand marks, should be cleared by annual payments of four thousand marks. In this manner the ransom of David was completely discharged, and a receipt in full was granted by Richard II. in the seventh year of his reign. These heavy but necessary exactions were not made without internal struggles.

The northern barons and Celtic chiefs were, for a short time, in open insurrection against payment of the imposts; but were put down by the steadiness of the parliament, and one of those starts of activity into which the indolent but resolute spirit of David Bruce was sometimes awakened. He marched into the north-west against John of the Isles, and reducing that turbulent and powerful chief to subjection, compelled him to submit to the tax imposed by parliament, and exacted hostages from him for remaining in allegiance.

Family discord broke out in the royal family. Margaret Logie, the young and beautiful queen, was expensive, like persons who are suddenly removed from narrow to opulent circumstances. She was fond of changing place, of splendour in retinue, dress, and entertainment; perhaps, being young and beautiful, she also liked personal admiration. David's passion was satiated, and he was desirous to dissolve the unequal marriage which he had so imprudently formed. The bishops of Scotland pronounced a sentence of divorce, but upon what grounds we are left ignorant by historians. Margaret Logie appealed to the pope from the sentence of

of these formidable chiefs was much reduced, not only by the actual restraint exercised over them by the sovereign and his lieutenants, often at the head of an armed force, but by the less justifiable policy which the sovereign is said to have exercised, of stirring up one chieftain against another, and thus humbling and diminishing the power of the whole. Still the separation of the Highlands from the Lowlands was that betwixt two separate races; and though the king's sovereignty was acknowledged in both, the ordinary course of law was only current in the more civilized country, and we shall presently see that the lords of the isles gave repeated disturbances to the Scottish government. The nation, at the same time, became more like that with which we ourselves are acquainted. A few great families can indeed trace their descent from the period of Robert Bruce; but a far greater number are first distinguished in the reign of his son, where the lists of the battle of Durham contain the names of the principal nobility and gentry in modern Scotland, and are the frequent resource of the genealogists. The spirit of commerce advanced in the time of David I. against all the disadvantages of foreign and domestic warfare.

In the parliaments of 1368 and 1369 a practice was introduced, for the first time apparently, of empowering committees of parliament to prepare and arrange, in previous and secret meetings, the affairs of delicacy and importance which were afterwards to come before the body at large. As this led to investing a small cabal of the representatives with the exclusive power of gathering and selecting the subjects for parliamentary debate, it necessarily tended to limit the free discussion so essential to the constitution of that body, and finally assumed the form of that very obnoxious institution called Lords of the Articles, who, claiming the preliminary right of examining and rejecting at their pleasure such measures as were to be brought before parliament, became a severe restraint on national freedom. Amidst pestilence and famine, which made repeated

CHAP. XV.

ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STEWART: THEIR ORIGIN. — ROBERT II. AND HIS FAMILY. — CLAIM OF THE EARL OF DOUGLAS: IT IS ABANDONED. — DEFEAT OF THE ENGLISH NEAR MELROSE. — WASTEFUL INCURSIONS ON THE BORDER. — JOHN OF GAUNT NEGOTIATES WITH SCOTLAND: TAKES REFUGE THERE AGAINST THE ENGLISH RIOTERS. — FRANCE INSTIGATES THE SCOTS TO RENEW THE WAR. — INROAD BY JOHN OF GAUNT. — JOHN DE VIENNE ARRIVES WITH AN ARMY OF FRENCH AUXILIARIES. — THEY ARE DISSATISFIED WITH SCOTLAND, AND THE SCOTS WITH THEM. — THEY URGE THE SCOTS TO FIGHT A PITCHED BATTLE WITH THE ENGLISH. — THE SCOTS DECLINE DOING SO, AND EXPLAIN THEIR MOTIVES. — INVASION OF RICHARD: IT IS PAID BACK BY THE SCOTS. — THE FRENCH AUXILIARIES LEAVE SCOTLAND. — THE SCOTS MENACE ENGLAND WITH INVASION. — THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN. — ROBERT EARL OF FIFE REGENT. — TRUCE WITH ENGLAND. — ROBERT II. DIES.

The genealogy of the Stewart family, who now acceded to the throne of Scotland, has been the theme of many a fable. But their pedigree has by late antiquaries been distinctly traced to the great Anglo-Norman family of Fitz-Alan in England; no unworthy descent, even for a race of monarchs. In David the first's time, Walter Fitz-Alan held the high post of seneschal or steward of the king's household; and the dignity becoming hereditary in the family, what was originally a title was converted into a surname, and employed as such. Walter, the sixth high-steward, fought bravely at Bannockburn, defended Berwick with the most chivalrous courage, and was unanimously thought worthy of the hand of Maryory Bruce, the daughter of the liberator of Scotland; and to their only child, the seventh lord high-steward, often mentioned during the last reign, the crown descended, on the extinction of the Bruce's male line in his only son David II. The successor to the crown had been twice married. By Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan, his first wife, he had his son John, created earl of Carrick, Walter earl of

Fife, Robert earl of Monteith, afterwards duke of Albany, and Alexander earl of Buchan. No less than six daughters, united in marriage with the most powerful families in Scotland, assured their support to the succession of the house of Stewart. The new king was, by a second marriage with Euphemia, daughter of the earl of Ross, the father of David earl of Strathern and Walter earl of Athol. Of four daughters by this second marriage, the eldest was married to James earl of Douglas, and the other three also wedded into ancient and powerful families.

The father of this numerous race was an elderly man, fifty-five years old, with an infirmity in his eyes, which rendered them as red as blood. He had been in his youth a bold and active soldier; but he was now past the years of martial exertion, and obliged to delegate to others the command of his army. He had the virtues of a pacific sovereign, being just, benign, clement, and sagacious.

The earl of Douglas threatened the tranquillity of the realm by a claim on the throne, which, however, was no sooner made than abandoned, upon his receiving the hand of the princess Euphemia in marriage. Robert II. was, therefore, inaugurated at Scone, March 27. 1371, with the usual ceremony. As the Scots continued to pay the ransom of king David with tolerable regularity, no open war with England was entered into until 1378; when, after mutual injuries and incursions, it broke out with great fury, and skirmishes and battles of a destructive rather than a decisive character took place. A small body of Scots made themselves masters of the citadel of Berwick; but, not being supported by a sufficient force, were surprised and put to the sword. In a fierce encounter near Melrose, the English, under the command of Musgrave, governor of Berwick, were defeated by the earl of Douglas. The battle was decided by the personal exertions of Archibald Douglas, who, wielding with ease a sword which an ordinary man could hardly lift, broke the English ranks with the fury of his blows. The Scots

appear to have had the better in this species of predatory hostility, their borderers being very numerous, and the best qualified in Europe for irregular war. Their rapine was now greater and greedier than usual; for even swine, which they used formerly to spare or neglect, did not now escape them: and there were instances of their driving off forty thousand head of booty in a successful inroad. They are said to have amused themselves by playing at football with the heads of the slain. This is, perhaps, an exaggeration; but it is certain that their ferocity equalled their rapacity. They were led also by a Douglas, whose activity was indefatigable. He surprised the town of Penrith, during a fair that was held there. The Scots made a great booty, and gave the town to the flames. The English were also defeated in Annandale, where the borderers of Cumberland entered, for the purpose of retaliating these injuries. The miseries of this cruel species of hostility were enhanced by a contagious disease which raged on the English frontiers, and which was imported into Scotland by the reckless borderers, whom even the pestilence itself could not deter from spoil.

In the ensuing year John of Gaunt, the celebrated 1381. duke of Lancaster, marched to the border with a formidable force, and put a temporary close to these miseries by a truce for twelve months, which, when nearly expired, was renewed for the same period. A singular 1383. occurrence took place while this last treaty was negotiating. The insurrection of Wat Tyler broke out; and the duke of Lancaster, against whom, as a patron of the followers of Wickliffe, much of the popular fury was directed, found it dangerous to return into England. Although the kingdoms could hardly be said to be at peace together, he did not hesitate to choose Scotland for his temporary place of refuge. Nor was this generous confidence ill requited. Edinburgh castle was assigned to the princely guest and his retinue, that their security might be safely provided for, and they were allowed the exclusive possession of this important fortress.

When the civil commotion was ended, the duke returned to England in security.

France I held with anxiety this occasion, brief as it was, of hostility between England and Scotland. Towards the latter she always acted as a civilized colony toward some tribe of barbarians in the neighbourhood, who e passion they animate by promises or bribes, in order to have their assistance in war with a powerful neighbour. (In the present occasion, as a diversion on the English frontiers was of the utmost consequence to their success at home, the French government instigated the Scots, by the distribution of a large sum of money, and the promise of assisting them with an auxiliary force of a thousand men at arms and their attendants, and a thousand suits of armour, to suffer the truce to elapse without renewal. The Scots listened to the temptation, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the old king, who was pacifically disposed, they resumed hostilities at the end of the truce.

The duke of Lancaster again visited the frontiers; but it was for the purpose of punishment, not treaty. He marched as far as Edinburgh, plundering the country; but generously spared the city, which had been so lately his place of refuge, and retreated, after he had shown both his power and his clemency. Robert II. again advised peace; but he could not prevail on the warlike nobles of Scotland to accept of its blessings.

In 1385, France, according to her engagement, sent to Scotland a large sum of money, twelve hundred suits of armour complete, with all appurtenances, and a thousand men at arms, with their followers, which may be estimated at five thousand men in all, forming, according to Froissart's phrase, a complete garrison of chivalry, and commanded by John de Vienne, admiral of France, one of the most distinguished warriors of the day.

The first articles of this importation were gladly received in Scotland, where ready palms were found to receive the gold, and limbs as prompt to bear the armour

alleging in excuse their inferiority in numbers, but especially in the size of their horses and quality of their archers. "All that may be true," answered their allies; but if you do not give the English battle, they will destroy your country." "Let them do their worst," said the Scots; "we hold them at defiance. Our gentry will remove their families and household stuff; our cottagers and labourers will drive into the mountains and forests their herds and flocks, and transport thither their grain and forage, even to the very straw that covers their huts. We will surround them with a desert; and while they shall never see an enemy, they shall not stir a flight-shot from their standards without being overpowered by an ambush. Let them come on at their pleasure, and when it comes to burning and spoiling, you shall see which has the worst of it."

"The event of the campaign proved as the Scots had anticipated. The English army advanced into the Merse and Lothian, finding a country totally waste, where there was nothing to plunder, and little that could even be destroyed, excepting here and there a tower, whose massive walls defied all means of destruction then known, or a cluster of miserable huts, which a few days' labour could easily repair, should they take the trouble to ruin them. Making a shift to maintain themselves by provisions from a fleet which attended their movements, the English army advanced to Edinburgh, when they were recalled by the news that the Scots had invaded Cumberland, and were retaliating with tenfold fury the work of destruction. And such was the superior wealth of England, even in its northern provinces, that, according to Froissart, the Scots obtained more plunder in their *raid*, and did more damage to their enemies, than the English could have inflicted on Scotland had they burned as far as Aberdeen. Both armies retired to their own country, the Scots loaded with spoil, the English reduced by suffering, and the French execrating a species of warfare in which neither gold nor glory could be gathered. They now desired to leave a kingdom which they despised for

sufficient forces to give Douglas battle, came forth to skirmish with the Scottish knights, who willingly met them, and broke many spears. A personal encounter took place between the earl of Douglas himself and sir Henry Percy, in which Hotspur's lance, bearing a tuft of silk at the extremity, embrodered with his arms, remained in the possession of the Scottish earl. "This trophy," said the Scot, "I will carry to Scotland, and place it on the highest tower of my castle of Dalkeith." "That," said Percy, "shalt thou never do." "Then," replied Douglas, "thou must come this night and take it from before my tent." He then resumed his march up the river Tyne, and encamped at night, expecting that Percy would come to challenge his pennon. Hotspur was only withheld from doing so by the report that Douglas was retreating on the main army of Scotland, and that he might find him united with the earl of March. But when, on the second day, he heard that the Scottish armies were yet far apart, and that Douglas moved slowly, as if inviting a pursuit, he hastily assembled about six hundred lances, who, with their squires and followers, and several thousand archers, made about eight or ten thousand men in all, and marched westward in pursuit of Douglas.

The Scottish earl had pitched his camp at Otterbourne; a hamlet in Keesdale, and its lines extended east and west along the banks of the river. The English crossed the Reed, and attacked the right flank of the enemy's position, which they found rudely but strongly fortified, and well defended. Douglas, whose plan of battle had been previously adjusted, continued the defence of the barricade till he had led his men out of the camp, and drawn them up in a compact body, but with a changed front, for his line of battle now stretched north and south, while the river covered one flank, and hills and morasses protected the other. At the same time the vale of the Reed behind gave an avenue for retreat, should that prove necessary. This change of position in the commencement of the action argues, that, besides his

high character of chivalry, Douglas, as a general, possessed science beyond what we might esteem the tactics of his age. In the meantime the English were something disordered by pressing through the Scottish camp, and it had the effect in some degree of surprise, when, by the moon of a clear autumn night, they met their opponents within a little distance. The battle instantly joined with loud acclamations of Percy on the one side, and Douglas on the other. The conflict was such as might have been expected between two such champions and their followers. At length the numbers of the English began to prevail, when Douglas, as seems to have been the wont of the heroes of that family, made a desperate personal effort. He rushed on the foe, holding his battle-axe in both hands, and clearing his way by his main force. His bannerman pressed on to keep up with his heroic master. At length, involved among the English, and far from his followers, Douglas, despite his armour of proof, received three mortal wounds. But the impulse given by his furious advance had animated the Scots and disheartened the English, nor did either army know the fate of the Scottish leader. Several Scottish knights, pursuing their advantage, pressed up to the place where Douglas was lying in the last agony. They enquired anxiously how he fared? "But indifferently," replied the earl: "life is ebbing fast. There is a prophecy in our house that a dead man shall win a field, and I think it will be this night accomplished. I fall as my fathers did, who seldom have died in chambers or on a sick-bed. Conceal my death; raise my banner; cry my war-cry, and avenge my fall!" The Scottish leaders, their hearts swelling with sorrow and desire of revenge, made a new and desperate attack, and put to flight the English, who were already staggered. Both the Percies remained prisoners, and with them almost all the Englishmen of condition who fought in this celebrated action, which Froissart assures us was one of the most desperate in his time, and fought with the most heroic bravery on both sides.

ACCESSION OF JOHN EARL OF CARRICK. — HIS NAME IS CHANGED TO ROBERT III. — THE STATE OF HIS FAMILY. — FEUDS. — BURNING OF ELGIN. — INROAD OF THE HIGHLANDERS, AND CONFLICT OF GLASCOW. — BATTLE OF BOWTHREE CHURCH. — COMBAT OF THE CLAN CHATTAAN AND CLAN GUNDEL. — PRINCE DAVID OF SCOTLAND: CHEATED DUKE OF ROTHSAY: EXPOSED TO THE MISREPRESENTATIONS OF HIS UNCLE, WHO BECOMES DUKE OF ALBANY. — MARRIAGE OF ROTHSAY. — SCANDALOUS MANAGEMENT OF ALBANY: BREAKS FAITH WITH THE EARL OF MARCH, WHO REBELS. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — INVASION OF HENRY IV. — THE ENGLISH OBLIGED TO RETIRE. — MURDER OF THE DUKE OF ROTHSAY. — SCOTS DEFEATED AT HODDINGTON. — CONTEST BETWEEN HENRY IV. AND THE PERCIES. — SIEGE OF CORLAWS OR ORMISTON. — PRINCE JAMES SENT TO FRANCE, BUT TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH. — ROBERT III.'S DEATH.

CHAPTER XVI.

The character of John earl of Carrick, eldest son and successor of Robert II., has been already noticed. He was lame in body and feeble in mind, — well-meaning, pious, benevolent, and just; but totally disqualified, from want of personal activity and mental energy, to hold the reins of government of a fierce and unmanageable people. The new king was invested with his sovereignty at Scone in the usual manner, excepting that, instead of his own name, John, he assumed the title of Robert III., to comply with a superstition of his people, who were impressed with a belief that the former name had distinguished monarchs of England, France, and Scotland, all of whom had been unfortunate. The Scots had also a partiality for the name of Robert, in affectionate and grateful remembrance of Robert Bruce.

The new monarch had been wedded for nigh thirty-three years to Annabella Drummond, daughter of sir John Drummond of Stobhall, a Scottish lady, whose wisdom and virtues corresponded with her ancient family and exalted station. By this union he had one son, prince David, a youth of eighteen years old, whose ca-

luminous history and untimely death was doomed to darken his father's reign. Five years after Robert III. had occupied the throne, the queen bore a second son, named James, his father's successor, and the first of that name, afterwards so often repeated in the royal line, who swayed the Scottish sceptre.

The new monarch's first attention was to confirm the truce with England, and renew the league with France; so that for eight years the kingdom was freed from the misery of external war, though the indolence of a feeble sovereign left it a prey to domestic feud and the lawless oppression of contending chiefs and nobles : of these we shall only notice one or two marked instances.

Ere yet the monarch was crowned, the earl of Buchan, Robert's own brother, in some personal quarrel with the bishop of Murray, assembled a tumultuary army of Highlanders, and burned the stately cathedral of Elgin, without incurring punishment, or even censure, from his feeble-minded sovereign, for an act which combined rebellion and sacrilege.

Two years afterwards, three chieftains of the clan Donnochy (in lowland speech called Robertsons), instigated or commanded by Duncan Stuart, a natural son of the turbulent earl of Buchan, came down to ravage the fertile country of Angus. The Grays, Lindsays, and Ogilvies marched against them with their followers. A skirmish was fiercely and wildly fought at Glasgunc in Stormont. An idea of the highland ferocity may be conceived from one incident. Sir Patrick Lindsay, armed at all points, and well mounted, charged in full career a chief of the Cathrans, and pinned him to the earth with his lance. But the savage mountaineer, collecting his strength into a dying effort, thrust himself on the lance, and swayed his two-handed sword with such force as to cut through Lindsay's steel boot, and nearly sever his limb. He was forced to retire from the field, on which the sheriff of Angus and his brother remained slain, with sixty of their followers. Sir Patrick Gray was also wounded; and the mountaineers, rather victorious than

beaten, though they had lost many men, retreated to their fastnesses in safety.

The feuds of the lowland barons were not less distinguished. Robert Keith, the head of that distinguished family, besieged, in Fyvie castle, his own aunt, the wife of Lindsay of Crawford. Lindsay marched with five hundred men to her rescue. He encountered Keith at Bourtree church, in the Garioch, and defeated him with the loss of fifty men. To use a scriptural expression, every one did what seemed right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king in Scotland.

The mode by which the government endeavoured to stanch these disorders, and indirectly to get rid of the perpetrators of outrages which they dared not punish by course of justice, was equally wild and savage. A clan, or rather a confederation of clans, called the clan Chattan, were at variance with another union of tribes, called the clan Kay, or clan Quhale. Their dispute, which the king's direct authority was unable to decide, was put to the arbitrament of a combat between thirty on each side, to be fought before the king, in the North Inch of Perth, a beautiful meadow by the side of the Tay. When they mustered their forces, one of the clan Chattan was found missing; but so reckless were men then of life, that a citizen of Perth undertook to supply his place for half a mark of silver. The combat was fought with infinite fury, until the clan Quhale were cut off all but one man, who escaped by swimming the Tay. Several of the clan Chattan survived, but all severely wounded.

The weak-minded king seems to have carried on his government, such as it was, by the assistance of his brother, the earl of Fife, who had been regent in the later years of his father's reign. But his heir-apparent, David, being a youth of good abilities, handsome person, young, active, and chivalrous, was too prominent and popular to be altogether laid out of view. He may be supposed indeed to have displayed some of the follies and levities of youth which were maliciously insisted on by

his uncle, who naturally looked on him with an evil eye; yet we find the prince employed as a commissioner, along with the earl of Fife, in 1399, when they met on the borders with the duke of Lancaster, and he was shortly afterwards raised by his father, after a solemn council, to the title of duke of Rothesay. At the same time, to maintain some equality, if not an ascendancy, over his nephew, prince David's ambitious uncle Robert contrived to be promoted from being earl of Fife to duke of Albany. Under their new titles both the princes again negotiated on the English frontiers, but to little purpose; for though a foundation of a solid peace would have been acceptable to Richard II., who was then bent on his expedition to Ireland, yet the revolution of 1399 was now at hand, which hurled that sovereign from his throne, and placed there in his stead Henry IV., thus commencing the long series of injuries and wars betwixt York and Lancaster. Leaving foreign affairs for a short time, we can see that the young heir of the kingdom was for some time trusted by his father in affairs of magnitude. Nay, it is certain that he was at one time declared regent of the kingdom. But Rothesay's youth and precipitate ardour could not compete with the deep craft of Albany, who seems to have possessed the king's ear, by the habitual counsels which he exercised over him for so many years. It was easy for him to exaggerate every excess of youth, of which Rothesay might be guilty, and to stir up against the young prince the suspicions which often lodge in the bosom of an aged and incapable sovereign against a young and active successor.

It is reasonable to think that the affection of queen Annabella, who had and deserved the esteem of her husband, endeavoured to sustain her son in the last struggle between him and Albany. It was by her advice that the maturity of the young prince was determined on, and the most probable means of putting an end to his intrigues. The advice was excellent; but Albany, not being the manager of the affair into his own hands, succeeded to render it the means of injuring him.

honour, and stirring up the nobility to feud and faction against the prince and each other.

He publicly announced that the hand of the duke of Rothsay should, like a commodity exposed to open auction, be assigned to the daughter of that peer of Scotland who might agree to pay the largest dowry with his bride. Even this base traffic on such a subject Albany contrived to render yet more vile by the dishonest manner in which it was conducted. George earl of March proved the highest offerer on this extraordinary occasion, and having paid down a part of the proposed portion, his daughter was affianced to the duke of Rothsay. The earl of Douglas, envying the aggrandizement which the house of March must have derived from such an union, interfered, and prevailed upon Albany, who was perhaps not unwilling to mix up the nuptials of his nephew with yet more disgraceful circumstances, to break off the treaty entered into with March, and substitute an alliance with the daughter of Douglas himself. No other apology was offered to March for this breach of contract than that the marriage treaty had not been confirmed by the estates of the kingdom; and, to sum up the injustice with which he was treated, the government refused or delayed to refund the sum of money which had been advanced by him, as part of his daughter's marriage-portion. As the power of the earl of March lay on the frontiers of both kingdoms, the bonds of allegiance had never sat heavily on that great family, and a less injury than that which the present earl had received might have sufficed to have urged him into rebellion. Accordingly, he instantly entered into a secret negotiation with Henry IV., and soon afterwards took refuge in England. The acquisition of such a partisan was particularly welcome to the English sovereign at this period, as will appear from the following circumstances.

Very nearly at the precise period when Henry IV. made 1399, himself master of the crown of England, the existing truce between Scotland and that country expired; and the Scottish borderers, instigated by their restless temper,

his uncle, who naturally looked on him with an evil eye; yet we find the prince employed as a commissioner, along with the earl of Eglisburgh, in 1399, when they met on the borders with the duke of Lancaster; and he was shortly afterward raised by his father, after a solemn council, to the title of duke of Rothesay. At the same time, to maintain some equality, if not an ascendancy, over his nephew, prince David's ambitious uncle Robert contrived to be promoted from being earl of Eglisburgh to duke of Albany. Under their new titles both the princes again negotiated on the English frontiers, but to little purpose; for though a foundation of a solid peace would have been acceptable to Richard II., who was then bent on his expedition to Ireland, yet the revolution of 1399 was now at hand, which hurled that sovereign from his throne, and placed there in his stead Henry IV., thus commencing the long series of injuries and wars between York and Lancaster. Leaving foreign affairs for a short time, we can see that the young heir of the kingdom was for some time trusted by his father in affairs of magnitude. Nay, it is certain that he was at one time declared regent of the kingdom. But Rothesay's youth and precipitate ardour could not compete with the deep craft of Albany, who seems to have possessed the king's ear, by the habitual command which he exercised over him for so many years. It was easy for him to exaggerate every excess of youth of which Rothesay might be guilty, and to stir up against the young prince the suspicions which often lodge in the bosom of an aged and incapable sovereign against a young and active successor.

It is reasonable to think that the affection of queen Annabella, who had and deserved the esteem of her husband, endeavoured to sustain her son in the tacit struggle between him and Albany. It was by her advice that the most probable means of putting an end to his irregularities. The advice was excellent; but Albany, getting the management of the affair into his own hands, contrived to render it the means of injuring his nephew's

the duke of Rothsay, aided by the skill and experience of his father-in-law the earl of Douglas. Albany commanded a large army, which, according to the ancient Scottish policy, hovered at some distance from the English host. The Scots had wisely resolved upon the defensive system of war, which had so frequently saved Scotland. But they could not forbear some of the bravado of the time. The duke of Rothsay wrote to Henry, that, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was willing to rest the national quarrel upon the event of a combat of one, two, or three nobles on each side. Henry laughed at this sally of youthful vivacity, and, in answer, expressed his wonder how Rothsay should think of saving Christian blood at the expense of shedding that of the nobility, who, it was to be hoped, were Christians as well as others. Albany also would have his gasconade. He sent a herald to Henry to say, that if he would stay in his position near Edinburgh for six days, he would do battle with him to the extremity. The English king gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald, in token that he joyfully accepted the challenge. But Albany had no purpose of keeping his word; and Henry found nothing was to be won by residing in a wasted country to belaguer an impregnable rock. He raised the siege and retired into England, where the rebellion of Owen Glendower soon after broke out. A truce of twelve months and upwards took place between the kingdoms.

In this interval a shocking example, in Scotland, proved how ambition can induce men to overleap all boundaries prescribed by the laws of God and man. We have seen the duke of Rothsay stoutly defending the castle of Edinburgh in 1100. But when the war was ended he seems to have fallen into the king his father's displeasure. The queen, who might have mediated between them, was dead. Archibald earl of Douglas was also deceased; and, notwithstanding their connection by marriage, there was mortal enmity between the prince and a second Archibald, who succeeded to that earldom.

hastened to drown in border warfare, which was his natural element, the recollection of his domestic crimes. But fortune seemed to have abandoned him, or heaven refused to countenance the accomplice of an innocent prince's most inhuman murder. From this time, notwithstanding his valour and military skill, he lost so many of his followers in each action which he fought as to merit the name of *Tinneman*, i. e. *Loose-man*.

The men of the *Merse*, influenced by the exiled earl of March, no longer showed their usual alacrity in making incursions on the border; and the earl of Douglas applied to the landholders of Lothian to discharge this military service. Their first raid was successful; but in the second they were intercepted by the earl of March and a large body both of English and his own personal followers, at a place called *West Nisbet*. *Hepburn* of *Hales*, the leader of the Scots, was slain: many noble youths of Lothian were also killed or made prisoners.

Douglas, incensed at this loss, requested and obtained a considerable force under command of Albany's son, *Murdoch* earl of *Rife*, with the earls of *Angus*, *Murray*, and *Orkney*. His own battalions augmented the force to ten thousand men, and spread plunder and devastation as far as the gates of *Newcastle*. But sir *Henry Percy* (the celebrated *Hotspur*) had assembled a numerous array, and together with his father, the earl of *Northumberland*, and their ally *March*, engaged the Scots at *Hemildon*, a hill within a mile of *Wooler*, on which *Douglas* had posted his army. *Hotspur* was about to rush with his characteristic impetuosity on the Scottish ranks, when the earl of *March*, laying hand on his bridle, advised him first to try the effects of the archery. The bowmen of England did their duty with their usual fatal certainty and celerity, and the Scottish army, drawn up on the acclivity, presented a fatal mark to their shafts. A brave knight, sir *John Swinton*, like *Gralhane* at the battle of *Thurham*, saw the disadvantage in which they were placed, and suggested a remedy. "Let us not stand here to be shot like a herd of deer," he exclaimed:

for ransom. Nor was the consent either of the king or general necessary to this kind of practice. Nevertheless, Henry wrote to the victorious Percy, commanding them not to admit the inglorious practice made at Homildon to be ransomed or delivered without his special consent. On the other hand, he gave away by bestow upon the earl and his son Sir Henry Percy the whole earldom of Douglas, with all the territories of that proud family. The father and son regarded the first proposition of the king as an injury; and for the reward, being the grant of a martial tract of country which was yet to be conquered, they deemed in their hearts they owed the king no gratitude. At the same time they received them both with seeming satisfaction, resolved to make the conquest of the earldom of Douglas, the pretext for assembling forces, which they were determined to employ very differently.

Accordingly, in June 1503, the Percy be sieged a tower named Coklawis, or Crimston, and agreed with the owner that he should surrender if not relieved by the regent of Scotland before Lammas. Alway upon receiving this intelligence attended his council, and asked their opinion whether the place should be relieved or no? All the counsellors, who knew the duke's poverty of spirit, conceived they were sure to meet his wishes when they recommended that the lord Crimston should be abandoned to its fate, rather than a battle should be hazarded for its preservation. The regent, well knowing the secret purpose of the Percy, whose forces were about to be directed against England, took the opportunity of saying, "I will keep the day of appointment before Coklawis, were there none to follow me thither but Peter de Kinbuck, who holds my horse yonder." The council heard him with wonder and applause; and it was not until they reached Coklawis with a considerable army, that the Scottish nobles learnt that what had given this temporary fit of courage to their regent was the certainty that he could not meet Hotspur, of whose death and

mies, till 1406, just a twelvemonth after this last misfortune. His death made no change in public affairs, and was totally unfelt in the administration, which continued in the hands of Albany.

CHAP. XVII.

REGENCY OF ROBERT DUKE OF ALBANY. — EARL OF MARCH RETURNS TO HIS ALLEGIANCE. — AN HERETIC BURNED. — JEDBURGH CASTLE TAKEN: TAX PROPOSED FOR EXPENSE OF ITS DEMOLITION: THE DUKE OF ALBANY REFUSES TO CONSENT TO IT. — DONALD OF THE ISLES CLAIMS THE EARLDOM OF ROSS. — HE INVADERS THE MAINLAND. — THE EARL OF MAR OPPOSES HIM. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE EARL'S LIFE. — BATTLE OF THE HARLAW: ITS CONSEQUENCES. — INTRICATE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN ALBANY AND HENRY IV. — HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND. — DEATH OF THE REGENT ALBANY.

The talents of Robert duke of Albany as a statesman were not such as in any degree to counterbalance his crimes. Yet his rule was not unpopular. This was in a great measure effected by liberality, or rather by profusion, in which he indulged with less hesitation, as his gifts were at the expense of the royal revenues and authority. The clergy, who were edified by his bounties to the church, recorded his devotion in their chronicles. He connived at the excesses of power frequent among the nobility; solaced them with frequent and extravagant entertainments; and indulged all their most unreasonable wishes respecting lands and jurisdictions at the expense of the crown. An air of affability and familiarity, added to a noble presence and a splendid attendance, procured the shouts of the populace. Although timid, the regent was conscious of his own defect, and careful in concealing it. He was intelligent in public business; and when the interest of the country was identified with his own, he could pursue with expedition and eagerness the best paths for attaining it.

the use of gunpowder in mining was not yet understood, it was proposed that a tax of two pennies should be imposed on each hearth in Scotland to maintain the labourers employed in the task. The regent's love of popularity instantly displayed itself. He declared, that in his administration no burthen should be imposed on the poor, and caused the expense to be defrayed out of the royal revenue. The truce with England was afterwards renewed. In the ratification of it, Albany styled himself regent by the grace of God, and used the phrase "our subjects of Scotland," not satisfied, it would seem, with delegated authority.

In the mean time a contest of the most serious nature arose between the Celtic and the Lowland or Saxon population of Scotland.

The lords of the isles, during the utter confusion which extended through Scotland during the regency, had found it easy to reassume that independence of which they had been deprived during the vigorous reign of Robert Bruce. They possessed a fleet with which they harassed the main land at pleasure; and Donald, who now held that insular lordship, ranked himself among the allies of England, and made peace and war as an independent sovereign. The regent had taken no steps to reduce this kinglet to obedience, and would probably have shunned engaging in a task so arduous, had not Donald insisted upon pretensions to the earldom of Ross, occupying a great extent in the north-west of Scotland, including the large isle of Skye, and lying adjacent to, and connected with, his own insular dominions.

His claim stood thus:—Ruphemia countess of Ross had bestowed her hand upon Walter Lesley, who became in her right earl of Ross. They had two children,—Alexander, who succeeded his mother in the earldom, and a daughter, who was wedded to Donald of the Isles. Lesley being dead, his widow married Alexander earl of Buchan, a brother of the regent; but they had no issue. Alexander earl of Ross made a second connexion with the royal family of Stewart, by marrying

mond of Stobhill, brother of Annabella, the queen of Robert III., had been surprised in his own castle by Highland banditti, and died in their rude custody. Alexander Stewart was suspected of accession to this violence, and these suspicions were strengthened when he suddenly appeared with a body of armed Catharans before the castle of Kildrummie, the residence of Isabel, the widow of the murdered sir Malcolm Drummond, countess of Mar in her own right. The castle was stormed, and the widowed countess, whether by persuasion or force, was induced to give her hand to Alexander Stewart, the leader of the band who took her mansion, and in all probability the author of her husband's imprisonment and death. A few weeks after their marriage he conceived the lady so reconciled to her lot, that he ventured to repossess her in her castle, with the furniture, title-deeds, &c., and coming himself before the gates, humbly rendered her the keys, in token that the whole was at her disposal. The issue, which Stewart had probably been previously well assured of, was, that the lady received him kindly, and of her own free will, and the good favour which she bore to him, accepted of him as her husband, after which he took the title and assumed the power and possessions of the earldom of Mar in right of the countess Isabel. Thus exalted above his trade of a robber, Stewart showed by his subsequent conduct that there was something noble in his mind corresponding with his elevation, which, though accomplished by such violent means, was not challenged during the feeble and corrupt regency of Albany. He distinguished himself by the exercise of feats of chivalry, and engaged in many tournaments both in Scotland and England. At length his restless spirit carried him abroad in quest of fame. The earl of Mar was distinguished and honoured for his wit, virtue, and bounty, at Paris, where he kept open house. From the court of Paris the earl passed to that of Burgundy. At this time the bishop of Liege, John of Bavaria, "a clerk without the external behaviour of one," was in danger from a rebellion of his insurgent people, and the

duke of Burgundy was marching to his assistance. Finding himself in a situation where fame could be won, Mar, with a hundred Scottish lances, chiefly men of quality seeking renown and feats of battle, accompanied the duke's host. As the battle was about to join, the earl of Mar seeing two strong champions, armed with battle-axes, advanced three spears' length before the army of Liège, commanded his banner to halt, and calling to his squire, John of Ceres, to follow him, rushed on these two champions, who proved to be the leaders of the mutiny, sir Henry Horn and his son, and slew them hand to hand. He did also great actions in the battle, and highly exalted his own name and the honour of his country. On his return to Scotland, the fire of his youth having now subsided, he became a firm supporter of good order, to which his early exploits had been so hostile, maintained some regular government of the northern counties, and was the leader to whom all men looked up as likely to arrest the course of the lord of the isles. It was a singular chance, however, that brought against Donald, who might be called the king of the Gael, one whose youth had been distinguished as a leader of their plundering bands, and no less strange that the islander's claim to the earldom of Ross should be traversed by one whose title to that of Mar was so much more challengeable.

The whole lowland gentry of the Mearns and Aberdeenshire rose in arms with the earl of Mar. The town of Aberdeen sent out a gallant body of citizens under sir Robert Davidson, their provost; Ogilvy, the sheriff of Angus, brought up his own martial name and the principal gentlemen of that county. Yet when both armies met at Harlaw, near the head of the Garrioch, the army of Mar was considerably inferior to that of Donald of the Isles, under whose banner the love of arms and hope of plunder had assembled the McIntoshes and other more northern clans. Being the flower of the respective races, the Gaelic and Saxon armies joined battle with the most inveterate rage and fury. About a thousand Highlanders

was very singularly situated. His most important negotiations with that power respected the fate of two prisoners,—the one James, his nephew and prince, who had fallen, as already mentioned, into the hands of Henry IV. by a gross breach of the law of nations—the other being the regent's own son Murdach earl of Fife, taken in the battle of Homildon. Respecting these captives the views of Albany were extremely different. He was bound to make some show of a desire to have his sovereign James set at liberty, since not only the laws of common allegiance and family affection enjoined him to make an apparent exertion in his nephew's behalf, but the feudal constitutions, which imposed on the vassal the charge of ransoming his lord and superior when captive, rendered this in every point of view an inviolable obligation. At the same time his policy dictated to him to protract as long as possible the absence of the king of Scotland, with whose return his own power as regent must necessarily terminate. For the liberation of his son Murdach, on the contrary, the regent naturally was induced to interfere with all the ardour and sincerity of paternal feeling. The nature of these negotiations, especially of the first, in which the duke of Albany's professions and the tenour of his proposals must have borne an ostensible purport very different from his own wishes, naturally gave a degree of mystery and complexity to the proceedings of the regent and his intercourse with the court of England. The very manner in which James is described in these proceedings is ambiguous, and does not convey or infer the quality of heir to the Scottish crown, the power of which was for the time exercised by Albany. He is termed "the son of our late lord king Robert," which is far from necessarily implying his title of heir of Scotland, since either a natural or a younger son of the late king might have been so termed. This studied ambiguity seems to infer that Albany, whose ambition had dictated the murder of the duke of Rothsay, was desirous to clear the way to the exclusive possession of the throne, which he only occu-

pied at present as the delegate of another, whose rights, therefore, he was disposed to keep as much out of view as possible. Henry IV., whose own road to sovereignty had been by usurpation, was crafty enough to comprehend the feelings by which the duke of Albany was actuated, and took care to throw such obstructions in the way of James the first's return to his dominions as might gratify the real wishes of the regent duke of Albany, without laying him under the necessity of speaking out too plainly his desire to protract his nephew's captivity. Another and a very curious subject of diplomatic discussion subsisted between Henry IV. and the regent of Scotland.

There is a story told by Bower, or Bowmaker, the continuator of Fordun's Chronicle, which has hitherto been treated as fabulous by the more modern historians. This story bears, that Richard II., generally supposed to have been murdered at Pontefract castle, either by the "fierce hand of sir Piers of Exton," or by the slower and more cruel death of famine, did in reality make his escape by subtlety from his place of confinement; that he fled in disguise to the Scottish isles, and was recognised in the dominions of the lord of the isles by a certain fool or jester, who had been familiar in the court of England; as being no other than the dethroned king of that kingdom. Bower proceeds to state, that the person of Richard II. thus discovered was delivered up by the lord of the isles to the lord Montgomery, and by him presented to Robert III., by whom he was honourably and beseechingly maintained during all the years of that prince's life. After the death of Robert III., this Richard is stated to have been supported in magnificence, and even in royal state, by the duke of Albany, to have at length died in the castle of Stirling, and to have been interred in the church of the friars there, at the north angle of the altar. This singular legend is also attested by another contemporary historian, Winton, the prior of Lochleven. He tells the story with some slight differences, particularly that the fugitive and deposed monarch was recognised by an

Irish lady, the wife of a brother of the lord of the isles, who had seen him in Ireland—that being charged with being king Richard, he denied it—that he was placed in custody of the lord of Montgomery, and afterwards of the lord of Cumbernauld—and, finally, that he was long under the care of the regent duke of Albany. “But whether he was king or not, few,” said the chronicler of Loehleven, “knew with certainty. The mysterious personage exhibited little devotion, would seldom incline to hear mass, and bore himself like one half wild or distracted.” Serle also, yeoman of the robes to Richard, was executed because, coming from Scotland to England, he reported that Richard was alive in the latter country. This legend, of so much importance to the history of both North and South Britain, has been hitherto treated as fabulous. But the researches and industry of the latest historian of Scotland have curiously illustrated this point, and shown, from evidence collected in the original records, that this captive, called Richard II., actually lived many years in Scotland, and was supported at the public expense of that country.*

It is then now clear, that, to counterbalance the advantage which Henry IV. possessed over the regent of Scotland by having in his custody the person of James, and consequently the power of putting an end to the delegated government of Albany whenever he should think fit to set the young king at liberty; Albany, on his side, had in his keeping the person of Richard II., or of some one strongly resembling him, a prisoner whose captivity was not of less importance to the tranquillity of Henry IV., who at no period possessed his usurped throne in such security as to view with indifference a real or pretended resuscitation of the deposed Richard.

It would be too tedious, were it possible, for us to trace distinctly the complicated negotiations between the king and regent. Each conscious of possessing an advantage

* The evidence of this very interesting fact will appear in the third volume of his History of Scotland, which will probably be before the public ere these sheets go through the press. Like the tenour of the work in general, it reflects the highest honour on Mr. Tytler's talents and industry.

over the other, and at the same time feeling a corresponding incumbrance on his own part, endeavoured, like a skilful wrestler, to take advantage of the hold which he possessed over his adversary, while at the same time he felt the risk of himself receiving the fall which he designed to give to his opponent. These two crafty persons, standing in this singular relation to each other, and each conscious of defects in his own title, negotiated constantly, without being able to bring their treaties either to a final close or an open rupture.

The death of Henry IV. and the accession of Henry V. did not greatly alter the situation of the two countries, but was so far of advantage to Albany, that he obtained the liberation of his son Murdach earl of Fife, in exchange for the young earl of Northumberland, the son of the celebrated Hotspur. This youth had been sent into Scotland by his grandfather for safety, when about to display his banner against Henry IV. of England. Whatever benefit the captive monarch of Scotland might have gained by such a hostage as the young Percy being lodged in the hands of his subjects was lost to him by the regent accomplishing the exchange between the earl of Northumberland and his own son.

In 1417, while Henry V. was engaged in France, the regent Albany, supposing that the greater part of the English forces were over seas, gathered a large force, and besieged at once both Roxburgh castle and the town of Berwick. A much superior army of English advanced under the dukes of Exeter and Bedford, and compelled the regent of Scotland to raise both the sieges, with much loss of reputation, as the Scots bestowed on his ill-advised enterprise the name of the *foul raid*, that is, the dishonourable inroad.

The war, which seemed for some time to languish, received some interest from a daring exploit of Halyburton of Fastcastle, who surprised the castle of Wark, situated upon the Tweed. Robert Ogle, however, recovered it for the English, by taking Halyburton by sur-

and not less for the good fortune which attended his success, on whatever side it was displayed.

Murdoch, duke of Albany, such as we have described him, became in the space of five years weary of exercising absolute station, which was popular with no man, over a desolate country, ruled by patience, and divided by the feuds of the nobility. He determined to rid himself of the responsibility of the regency, although he must have been internally conscious that such a power, though difficult on him to wield, could not be resigned with any decency. It was, perhaps, a sense of the peril to which he might be exposed, if called by the king to sit out for many years of misrule, his father's as well as his own, which made him suspend his resolution till 1423, when his decision is said by tradition to have been precipitated by an act of insolent insubordination on the part of Walter, his eldest son. The regent Murdoch had a falcon which he highly valued, and which his son Walter had often asked of him in vain. Exasperated at repeated refusal, the insolent young man snatched the bird as it sat on his father's wrist, and killed it by twisting round its neck. Deeply hurt at this brutal act of disrespect, Murdoch dropped the ominous words, "Since you will render me no honour or obedience, I will bring home one who well knows how to make all of us obey him." From this time he threw into the long-protracted negotiation for the freedom of James a sincerity which speedily brought it to a conclusion.

Henry V. being now dead, John duke of Bedford, protector of England, was defending with much skill and prudence the acquisitions which his brother's valour had made in France. Occupied with this task, he was willing to use a liberal policy towards Scotland; to restore their lawful king, so long unjustly detained; having formed, if possible, such an alliance betwixt him and some English lady of rank as might maintain in the young monarch's mind the feelings of predilection towards England which were the natural consequence of a long residence in that country and familiarity with

of Buchan struck him down with a mace, and slew him. Many brave English knights were slain: the earl of Kent, the lords Grey and Ross, with fourteen hundred men at arms, were left on the field. The earls of Huntingdon and Somerset were made prisoners.

In reward of such distinguished service, the dauphin, now king of France by the title of Charles VII., created Buchan high constable of France, and conferred upon Stewart of Darnley the lordship of Aubigny in France. Desirous of increasing the forces by which he had acquired so much fame and honour, the earl of Buchan returned to Scotland to obtain recruits. He found that his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas, with the licence assumed by men of far less importance than himself during the feeble government of the regency, was then engaged in a treaty with Henry V. of England, whom he was to serve with two hundred horse and as many infantry, for the stipend of two hundred pounds a year. The influence of Buchan disturbed this agreement; and Douglas, who seems to have conducted himself during the whole matter like an independent prince, instead of joining the English, accepted of the duchy of Touraine, offered to him on the part of Charles VII. of France, and engaged to bring to his aid an auxiliary force of five thousand men.

1424. He came accordingly; but the bad fortune which procured him the name of Tineman (Lose-man) continued to wait on his banners. The Scots sustained a severe defeat at Crevan. They had formed the blockade of that place; but were surprised by the earl of Salisbury, who raised the siege, by defeating them with a slaughter of nine hundred men.

A battle yet more fatal to the Scots took place near the town of Verneuil, 17th August, 1424. It was a general action, risked by the king of France for the relief of Yvry, besieged by the English. The duke of Bedford, who commanded the English, and whom Douglas had called in derision John with the leaden sword, advanced to meet the enemy, and sent a herald to inform the Scottish earl

he was coming to drink wine and revel with him. The earl of Douglas returned for answer, he should be most welcome, and that he had come from Scotland to France on purpose to carouse in his company. Under these terms a challenge to combat was understood to be given and accepted. Douglas, desirous to draw up his forces on advantageous ground, proposed to halt, and to await the English attack on the spot where the herald found him. The viscount of Narbonne, the French general, insisted on advancing: the Scots were compelled to follow their allies, and came into battle out of breath and out of order. The consequences were most calamitous; Douglas and Buchan fell, and with them most of their countrymen of rank and quality, so that the auxiliary army of Scots might be considered as almost annihilated. The corps of Scots, long maintained as the French king's bodyguard, is said to have been originally composed of the relics of the field of Verneuil. And thus concluded the wars of the Scots in France, fortunate that the nation was cured, though by a most bitter remedy, of the fatal rage of selling their swords and their blood as mercenaries in foreign service; a practice which drains a people of the best and bravest, who ought to reserve their courage for its defence, and converts them into common gladiators, whose purchased valour is without fame to themselves or advantage to their country. Individuals frequently continued to join the French standard, in quest of fame or preferment; but, after the battle of Verneuil, no considerable army or body of troops from Scotland was sent over to France.

We return, after this digression, to consider the condition of Scotland, now more hopeful than it had been for a length of time, since she was about to exchange the rule of a slothful, timid, and inefficient regent for that of a king in the flower of his age, and possessed of a natural disposition and cultivated talents equally capable to grace and to guard the throne.

The terms on which the treaty for the freedom of

James I. was at last fixed were, on the whole, liberal rather than otherwise. The English demanded, and the Scots agreed to pay, forty thousand pounds sterling — not as *ransom*, as the use of that obnoxious phrase could not apply to the case of an innocent boy taken without defence in time of truce, but to defray what was delicately termed the expenses of prince James's support and education. Six years were allowed for the discharge of the sum by half-yearly payments. It was a part of the contract, that the Scottish king should marry an English lady of rank ; and his choice fell upon Joanna, niece of Richard II., by the mother's side, and by her father, John duke of Somerset, the grand-daughter of the duke of Lancaster, called John of Gaunt. To this young lady, so nearly connected with the English royal family, the Scottish captive had been attached for some time, and had celebrated her charms in poetry of no mean order, although defaced by the rudeness of the obsolete language. They were married in London ; and a discharge for ten thousand pounds, the fourth part of the stipulated ransom, was presented to the Scottish king as the dowery or portion of his bride. The royal pair were then sent down to Scotland with all respect and dignity, and Murdach, the late regent, had the honour to induct his royal cousin into the throne of his forefathers.

The natural talents of James I., both mental and corporeal, were of the highest quality ; and if Henry IV. had taken an unjust and cruel advantage of the accident which threw the prince into his hands, by detaining him as a prisoner, he had made the only possible amends, by causing the most sedulous attention to be paid to his education. In person, the king of Scotland was of low stature ; but so strongly and compactly built as to excel in the games of chivalry, and all the active accomplishments of the time. He was no less distinguished by mental gifts, highly cultivated by the best teachers that England could produce. He was, according to the learning of the day, an accomplished scholar, an excellent poet,

a musician of skill, intimately acquainted with the science as practised in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, which are described as being then the principal seats of national music *, with a decided taste for the fine arts of architecture, painting, and horticulture. Nothing, therefore, could be more favourable than his personal character. As a prince, his education in England had taught him political views which he could hardly have learned in his own rude and ignorant realm. His ardent thirst of knowledge made the acquisition of every species of art fit to be learned by persons of his condition not only tolerable, however laborious, but a source of actual pleasure. He found Scotland in the utmost disorder, and divided amongst a set of haughty barons, whom the wars of David II.'s reign, the feebleness of those of his two successors, and the culpable indulgence of two regencies, had rendered almost independent of the crown. To curb and subdue this stern aristocracy, and to secure general good order, by re-establishing the legitimate authority of the crown, was a difficult and most dangerous task ; but James embarked and persevered in it with a courage which amounted almost to rashness.

Among various laws for the equal administration of justice, for obliging the nobility to ride with retinues no larger than they could maintain, for discontinuing the oppressive exaction of free quarters, and for requiring that the Scottish youth should be trained to archery, there were two measures adopted by James which were highly unpopular. The first was an enquiry into the extent of the crown lands under the last three monarchs. The object of this was to examine into the dilapidation made of the crown property during the reigns of Robert the second and third, and the two regencies of the house of Albany. But by these preparations to re-assert the right of the king to the lands which had been alienated by weak monarchs and unfaithful viceroys, James

* The Irish were said to excel in two instruments, the harp and the tabor ; the Scottish in three, the harp, the tabor, and the *chorus* (*i. e.* the *cor* or horn) ; the Welsh also delighted in three kinds of music, that of the pipes, the harp, and the chorus or horn.

excited among the people at large doubts and jealousies concerning the stability of property, which gave rise to general dissatisfaction. With these was combined the imposition of a large subsidy for raising the sum due to England by the late treaty, of which it is only necessary to say that it was a tax, and was therefore unpopular; and the more so, as it fell on a poor country.

The records of this reign being almost entirely lost, we do not know by what means further than his own consciousness of talents, and the command over others which such consciousness necessarily inspires, the young king was able to enforce his authority in a kingdom where a large party were leagued together by mutual interest to support the usurpations which had been made on the crown during the space of more than twenty years, in which time wrongful encroachment had attained by prescription the appearance of lawful right. We are only aware that James had not been on the throne a full year ere he began to visit on the house of Albany the wrongs he had sustained during his long imprisonment, protracted through their means, and the dilapidation and usurpation exercised by them, their favourites and allies, over the rights and possessions of the crown.

Walter, the son of duke Murdach, whose brutal insolence to his father had suggested to the old man the idea of bringing home the lawful heir, or at least had decided him to adopt that measure so much fraught with hazard to his family, was laid under arrest shortly after the king's return. The earl of Lennox, father-in-law to duke Murdach, and sir Robert Grahame, a man of peculiarly fierce and daring temper, were next made prisoners. But on the 12th March, 1425, the king found himself, by whatever means, powerful enough to arrest, during the sitting of a parliament at Perth, Murdach, the late regent, his second son Alexander, the earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, with twenty other persons of the highest rank, among whom are the formidable names of Alexander Lyndsay of Glenesk, Hep-

burn of Hales, Hay of Yester, Walter Halyburton, Walter Ogilvy, Stewart of Rosyth, Alexander of Seton-Gordon, Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, John the Red Stewart of Dundonald, David Murray of Gask, Hay of Errol constable of Scotland, Scrimgeour the constable of Dundee, Irving of Drum, Herbert Maxwell of Carlaverock, Herbert Herries of Terreagles, Gray of Foulis, Cunninghame of Kilmauris, Ramsey of Dalwolsey, Crichton of Crichton.

In perusing this list of ancient and powerful names we are alike surprised to see so many barons, whose estates and interests lay separated over various parts of Scotland, involved in the same general accusation, and at the courage of the sovereign, who dared to apply the rigour of law to such a number of his powerful subjects at the same time. The prisoners were probably selected as the principal allies of the Albany family, or perhaps as those who, having shared most deeply in the spoils distributed during the regencies, might be most tempted to defend its usurpations. The specific charge against the imprisoned barons was probably their having evaded compliance with the royal command to exhibit their titles to their lands. But though so many were included, it was at the family of Albany only that vengeance was aimed. The blow was struck so suddenly, that the only one of the devoted family who had time to take precaution for his safety or offer resistance was James Stewart, the youngest son of duke Murdach. He made his escape to the west of Scotland, returned by a sudden incursion, burned Dunbarton, and slew the king's uncle, the Red Stewart of Dundonald; but, closely pressed by the king's command, was obliged to fly to Ireland.

Murdach and his two sons, with their grandfather by the mother's side, the earl of Lennox, were brought to trial under cognisance of an assize or jury of nobles, in which the allies and supporters of the king were mingled with the favourers and allies of the house of Albany in such a proportion as to give an appearance of impartiality to the trial, though the party of royalists

gerated in the eyes of such as conceived that the monarch had the selfish prospect of repairing the royal revenue by the forfeiture of the estates of these wealthy criminals.

Perhaps, like many reformers, this excellent prince, for such he must certainly be esteemed, fell into an error common to those who, seeing acutely the extent of a rooted evil, attempt too hastily and too violently to remedy it by instant eradication. It is in the political world as in the human frame; dislocations which have been of long standing, and to which the neighbouring parts of the system have accommodated themselves, cannot be brought back to their proper state without time, patience, and gentleness. It is true, the long course of licence permitted by the loose government of the house of Albany had subjected many hundreds, nay, thousands of individuals to the penalties of the law; but it cannot escape notice, that while a few severe examples are in such a case necessary for the purpose of impressing a respect for justice, the extending capital punishments to a large circle disgusts the public mind, assumes the form of vengeance rather than legal severity, and procures for malefactors an interest in their fate capable of altogether destroying the great purpose of punishment, by causing men to hate instead of respecting its motives. If, as historians affirm, James I. actually adjudged to death, within the first two years of his reign, the number of three thousand of his subjects, for offences committed during his imprisonment in England, he certainly merited that the reproof used by Mæcenas to Augustus,—“surge tandem carnifex!”—ought to have interrupted his judicial butchery.

James I. might be more easily justified in teaching, even by strict examples of severity, the respect due to the royal person, the source of law and justice, which had fallen into contempt during the feeble regency of duke Murdach, than in prosecution of acts of treason committed when there was no king in the land. We have the following instance of his strictness on such

others, were beheaded for acts of robbery and oppression; and to render his justice impartial, James Campbell was hanged for the murder of John, a former lord of the isles.

In the midst of these examples of punishment, James was clement in his treatment of Alexander of the isles, the successor of Donald, who was worsted at the Harlaw, and only remonstrating with him upon the necessity of his discontinuing his family habits of lawless turbulence, he dismissed him upon his promise to abstain from such in future. His mother was detained as a hostage for his faith. Alexander, however, no sooner returned to his own territories than he raised his banner, and collected a host from the isles and Highland mainland to the amount of ten thousand men, with which he invaded the continent, and burnt the town of Inverness, where he had lately sustained the affront of an arrest. King James assembled an army and hastened northward, where his prompt arrival alarmed the invaders. Two powerful tribes, the clan Chattan and clan Cameron, deserted the lord of the isles, and ranged themselves under the royal banner. Weakened and dispirited, the Highland forces sustained a severe defeat, and the lord of the isles humbled himself to ask peace and forgiveness. It was not, however, granted, till he had performed a feudal penance for his breach of allegiance. On the eve of saint Augustine's festival, he appeared in full congregation, before the high altar of Holyrood church, at Edinburgh, attired only in his shirt and drawers, and there upon his knees presented the hilt of his naked sword to the king, he himself holding it by the point. In this attitude of submission the island chief humbly confessed his offences, and deprecated their deserved punishment. The capital penalty, which he had deservedly incurred, was exchanged for a long imprisonment in Tantallon castle.

The captivity of the lord of the isles did not prevent further disturbance from these unruly people.— Choosing for chieftain Donald,loch or the Freckled, the cousin-german ofed lord.

treasonable practices which had distinguished his family in former generations, or whether he was only guilty of possessing the power to be dangerous, we cannot well discern; but he was confined to the castle of Edinburgh as a prisoner, and his castle of Dunbar, being taken possession of by the king, was placed in the keeping of Adam Hepburn of Hales. The legal reasons assigned were, that the forfeiture of the earldom of March having been decreed, on account of the repeated treasons of George earl of March, the power of the regent duke of Albany was insufficient to disjoin them from the crown, to which they had been united, and to confer them on the son of the traitor. It was not, however, the purpose of the king to act with rigour or injustice towards the present earl, even in depriving him of possessions which afforded him a power liable to be abused. He closed the transaction by instantly conferring on the late earl of March the earldom of Buchan, which, by the death of the gallant high constable of France at the battle of Verneuil, already mentioned, had reverted to the crown. By this policy James hoped to convert a powerful family, from fickle and uncertain borderers, into more faithful inland vassals.

Almost all the proceedings of James I. were directed to the same general end—that of diminishing the power of the nobles, which occasioned the discords in the state, and the general oppression of the subjects, and proportionally augmenting and extending the influence of the crown. This comprehended, indeed, the selfish purpose of elevating the king himself to a more absolute superiority in the state: but as, in that stage of society, the royal authority was the best means by which the general peace and good order of the country at large could be preserved, James may be considered as having pursued his favourite object with humane and patriotic views, directed more to the benefit of Scotland than his own aggrandizement.

By an act of parliament prohibiting all bonds and leagues, by which the nobility used to bind themselves

neglected and contemned by her husband, one of the most malignant men who ever lived. She was basely calumniated also and slandered by his unworthy courtiers, and appears to have felt the imputed ignominy so sensitively, that the acuteness of her feelings at length cost the princess her life.

As the affairs of the English were declining in France, from the enthusiasm universally awakened by the appearance of the maid of Orleans on the scene, an English ambassador was sent to Scotland, in the person of lord Scroope, with instructions to gain James, if possible, from his French alliance. England proposed terms which had not been lately named in negotiation between the countries. The offers were a sure and perpetual peace, with the restitution to Scotland of the castle of Roxburgh, the town of Berwick, together with Cumberland and Westmorland, as far southward as Rere Cross on Stanmoor. The Scottish historians say, that the English were not sincere in these proposals. If they were, James could not have entertained them without a formal breach of his treaty with France. The clergy interfered to support this obstacle, with the important additional objection, that the contract with France had obtained an irrefragable, and in some degree sacred character by its having received the sanction of the pope, and therefore could not be infringed without a high crime. In the course of the scholastic discussion which arose on the question, What effect the approbation of the Roman pontiff conferred on a contract solemnly entered into betwixt two independent monarchs? the disputants lost sight of the English propositions, the most honourable which Scotland had received from her proud neighbour since the arms of Bruce extorted from her the treaty of Northampton, and the negotiation fell to the ground.

It may be easily conceived, that the unwonted boldness with which James carried on his favourite measures, — resuming grants made in favour of the most powerful nobles, — altering at his will the seat of their power, as in the case of the earl of March, — interfering with and

controlling their jurisdiction over their vassals,—at times imprisoning the most powerful of them, as he did the earl of Douglas, his own nephew,—and substituting the authority of the crown for that of the vassals, by whose greatness it had been eclipsed,—was regarded with very different feelings by two classes of his subjects. With the great mass of the nation James was popular; for the people felt the protection arising from the power of the crown, which could seldom have any temptation to oppress those in middle life, and willingly took refuge under it to escape from the subordinate tyranny of the numerous barons, whose castles crowned every cliff, and for whose rapacity or violence no object was too inconsiderable. It was different with the nobility, who felt acutely that, as the king's importance arose in the national scale, their own was gradually sinking. They regarded the quantity of blood which had been shed by James's command less as a sacrifice to justice, than as the means by which the sovereign indulged his rapacity after forfeitures, and what they alleged to be his vindictive hatred to the nobility. Many of the victims who had suffered the penalties of the law were related to honourable houses; and it was a point of honour, and almost of conscience, with their kindred to watch for the opportunity to revenge their death. There was, therefore, a great party among the nobility who regarded James with fear and hatred, and who only wanted an opportunity to give deadly proof of the character of their feelings towards him.

The approach of war gave these evil sentiments an opportunity to display themselves. Sir Robert Ogle, an English borderer of distinction, in breach of a truce which had continued uninterrupted since king James's accession
35. to the Scottish throne, made an incursion on the borders, and did some mischief; but was encountered by the earl of Angus near Piperden, defeated, and made prisoner. In
36. resentment of this violence, and of an attempt on the part of the English to intercept the Scottish princess Margaret on her way to France, James declared war against Eng-

land. He besieged Roxburgh castle with the whole array of his kingdom, which was said to amount to a tumultuary multitude of nearly two hundred thousand men. After remaining fifteen days before Roxburgh, the king suddenly raised the siege and dismissed his array, upon surmise, as has been supposed, of treason in his host. That there were such practices is highly probable; and a Scottish encampment, filled with feudal levies, each man under the banner of the noble to whom he owed service, was no safe residence for a monarch who was on bad terms with his aristocracy.

After dismissal of his army, James I. met his parliament at Edinburgh, and employed himself and them in making several regulations for commerce, and for the impartial administration of justice. In the meantime the period of this active and good prince's labours was speedily approaching.

The chief author of his fate was sir Robert Grahame, uncle to the earl of Stratherne. James, with his usual view of unfixing and gradually undermining the high power of the nobility, resumed the earldom of Stratherne, and obliged the young earl to accept of the earldom of Monteth in lieu of it. This seems to have irritated the haughty spirit of the earl's uncle sir Robert, who was likewise exasperated by having sustained a personal arrest and imprisonment, along with other men of rank, on the king's return in 1425. Entertaining these causes of personal dislike against his sovereign, Grahame, in the parliament of 1429, undertook to represent to the king the grievances of the nobility: but, instead of doing so with respect and moderation, this fierce and haughty man worked himself into such extremity of passion as to make offer to arrest the monarch in name of the estates of parliament. As no one dared to support him in an attempt so arrogant, Grahame was seized, and, finally, his possessions were declared forfeited, and he himself ordered into banishment.

He retired to the recesses of the Highlands, vowing revenge, and had the boldness to send forth from his

lurking place a written defiance, in which he renounced the king's allegiance, and declared himself his mortal enemy. On this new proof of audacity, a reward was offered to any one who should bring in the person of sir Robert Grahame dead or alive. On this a conspiracy took place, the event of which was terrible, although we can but ill trace the motives of some of the party.

The ostensible head of the conspirators was the king's own uncle, Walter earl of Athole, son of Robert the third, by his second marriage. This ambitious old man was not prevented by his near alliance with the crown from plotting against his royal nephew's life, with the purpose of placing on the throne sir Robert Stewart, his own grandson, who on his part, though favoured by the king, and holding the confidential situation of chamberlain, did not hesitate to enter into so nefarious a conspiracy. The event proved that the conspirators had formed their plan for assassinating their prince with too much accuracy. But the hopes upon which Athole and his grandson founded the subsequent part of their plot seem to have been vague and uncertain to an extravagant degree, inducing us to believe, that, like other heated and fiery spirits in similar situations, those engaged in the bloody design must have worked themselves into the belief that the feelings of hatred towards James which animated their own bosoms were also nourished by the greater part of the community; a species of self-delusion common amongst men who engage in such desperate enterprises.

The removal of the court to Perth, where James proposed to hold his Christmas, facilitated the conspirators' enterprise, by making a sudden descent from the Highlands, a short expedition. About the 21st of February, the king, after having entertained his treacherous uncle of Athole at supper, was about to retire to rest in the Dominican monastery, which was the royal residence for the time, when it was suddenly entered by a body of three hundred men, whose admittance had been facilitated by sir Robert Stewart, the faithless chamberlain. There is a tradition that a young lady in attendance on the queen,

named Katharine Douglas, endeavoured to supply the want of a bar to the door of the royal apartment by thrusting her own arm across the staples. This slender obstacle was soon overcome. So much time had, however, been gained, that the queen and her ladies had found means to let down the king into a vault beneath the apartment, from which he might have made his escape, had not an entrance from the sewer to the court of the monastery been built up by his own order a day or two before, because his balls, as he played at tennis, were lost by entering the vault. Still, notwithstanding this obstacle, the king might have escaped, for the assassins left the apartment without finding out his place of retreat, and, having in their brutal fury wounded the queen, dispersed to seek for James in the other chambers. Unhappily, before either the conspirators had withdrawn from the palace, or assistance had arrived, the king endeavoured, by the help of the ladies, to escape from the vault, and some of the villains returning, detected him in the attempt. Two brothers, named Hall, then descending into the vault, fell fiercely upon James with their daggers; when young, active, and fighting for his life, the king threw them down, and trode them under foot. But while he was struggling with the traitors, and cutting his hands in an attempt to wrench their daggers from them, the principal conspirator, Grahame, came to the assistance of his associates, and the king died by many wounds. Thus fell James I., a prince of distinguished talents and virtue, too deep in political speculation, perhaps, for the period in which he lived, too hasty and eager in carrying his meditated reformation into execution, and too rigorous in punishing crimes which were rather the fruit of tempting opportunity, and of the general licence of a disorderly period, than the deliberate offspring of individual guilt.

The alarm was given at last, and the attendants of the court and domestics began to gather to the palace, from which the assassins made their escape to the Highlands, not without loss.

The queen, however, urged the pursuit of the murderers with a zeal to console the widow of such a husband. She had enjoyed her husband's political confidence as well as his domestic affection. In the parliament of 1455, the king, ingrossed, perhaps, with a pre-entiment that his public-spirited measure might expose him to assassination, caused the members of the estates to give written assurances of their fidelity to the queen. Upon this trying occasion they rode and their pledge, and a close and general pursuit after the murderers took place. In the space of a month they were all apprehended in their various lurking-places. Athole's grandson, sir Robert Stewart, was executed at Edinburgh with refined tortures, in the midst of which he avowed his guilt. The aged earl admitted that his grandson had proposed such a conspiracy to him; but alleged that he did his utmost to dissuade him from engaging in it, and believed that the idea was laid aside. He was beheaded at Edinburgh, and his head, being surrounded with a crown of iron, was exposed to public view. The principal conspirator, sir Robert Grahame, whose mind had devised, and whose hand executed the bloody deed, boldly contended that he had a right to act as he had done. The king, he said, had inflicted on him mortal injury; and he, in return, had renounced his allegiance, and sent him a formal letter of defiance. Dreadful tortures were inflicted on the regicide, which served but to show how much extremity a hardy spirit is capable to endure. He told the court, that, though now executed as a traitor, he should be hereafter recollected as the man who had freed Scotland from a tyrant. But the evil spirit which had seduced him, and seemed to speak by his mouth, proved a false prophet: the immortality which his memory obtained was only conferred by a popular rhyme, to this effect:—

Robert Grahame,
That kill'd our King, God give him shame.

James I. had two sons; but one dying in infancy, he left behind him only James II., who in his childhood succeeded to his father's throne. The late king had five

daughters, who were married, four of them into noble families abroad; while the youngest was wedded to the earl of Angus.

Among the transactions of this reign, we ought not to omit to mention the fate of two heretics. The first was a Wickliffite, called John Resby, already mentioned as executed under the regency of Albany. James I. himself is culpable for having permitted the death of Paul Crawar, a foreigner, and a follower of John of Huss. He was tried by Laurence of Lindores, the same bigoted inquisitor who sat in judgment on Resby, whose fate this second martyr shared, at Saint Andrew's, 1435. These instances prove that Scotland did not escape the ravages of intolerant superstition, though her history stands more free of such shocking cruelties than that of nations more important and more early civilized than herself.

CHAP. XIX.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE NOBLES AND THE CROWN. — ELEVATION OF CRICHTON AND LIVINGSTON TO THE GOVERNMENT. — THEIR DISSENSIONS. — CRICHTON POSSESSES HIMSELF OF THE KING'S PERSON; BUT BY A STRATAGEM OF THE QUEEN HE IS CONVEYED TO STIRLING. — CRICHTON IS BESIEGED IN EDINBURGH CASTLE; RECONCILES HIMSELF WITH LIVINGSTON; QUARRELS ONCE MORE WITH HIM; AND AGAIN OBTAINS THE CUSTODY OF THE KING'S PERSON. — A SECOND RECONCILIATION. — POWER OF THE DOUGLAS FAMILY. — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE YOUNG EARL OF DOUGLAS AND HIS BROTHER. — HIGHLAND FEUDS. — DOUGLAS GAINS THE ASCENDANCY IN THE KING'S COUNCILS. — FALL OF THE LIVINGSTONS. FEUD OF THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND THE OGILVIES. — DEATH OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF SARK. — MARRIAGE OF JAMES. — HIS QUARREL WITH DOUGLAS: HE PUTS HIM TO DEATH WITH HIS OWN HAND. — GREAT CIVIL WAR. — THE DOUGLAS FAMILY IS DESTROYED. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — SIEGE OF ROXBURGH CASTLE, AND DEATH OF JAMES II.

IN the reign of James I. a struggle had commenced of a nature hitherto unknown to Scotland. The dissensions

nobles, who considered every office near the king's person as their own peculiar and patrimonial right, and who had in many instances converted such employments into subjects of hereditary transmission.

Among the able men whom James I. called in this manner from comparative obscurity, the names of two statesmen appear, whom he had selected from the rank of the gentry, and raised to a high place in his council. These were sir William Crichton the chancellor, and sir Alexander Livingston of Calder. Both were men of ancient family, though, descended probably of Saxon parentage, they did not number among the greater nobles, who claimed, generally speaking, their birth from the Norman blood. Both, and more especially Crichton, had talents of a distinguished order, and were well qualified to serve the state. Unhappily, these two statesmen, upon whom either the will of the late king, or the ordinance of a parliament called at Edinburgh immediately after James's murder, devolved the power of a joint regency, were enemies to each other, probably from ancient rivalry; and it was still more unfortunate that their talents were not united with corresponding virtues; for Livingston and Crichton appear to have been alike ambitious, cruel, and unscrupulous politicians. It is said by the Scots chronicles, that the parliament assigned to Crichton the chancellor the administration of the kingdom, and to Livingston the care of the person of the young king.

It might have been supposed that the widowed queen Joanna had some title to be comprised in the commission of regency, and there are indications that such had been the purpose of her husband. But alone, an English stranger, and a woman, after prosecuting the murderers of her husband to the death, she seems to have withdrawn herself from public affairs; and shortly afterwards married a man of rank, sir James Stewart, who was called the Black Knight of Lorn—an union which, placing herself under tutelage, disqualified her from the office of regent, whether in her sole person or as an associate of

cause: and as she was permitted to visit the castle at all times, she contrived to convey the child out of that fortress by inclosing him in a coffer, supposed to contain a part of her wardrobe. Setting sail from Leith, she removed the prince by water to Stirling, where Livingston lay in garrison, by whom she was gladly received. Assembling there such nobles and barons as adhered to him, Livingston proposed to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, and the queen offered from her own store-houses to supply the soldiers with food. The castle was beleaguered accordingly. Crichton, thus severely threatened, applied himself in his necessity to the earl of Douglas, offering his constant friendship and assistance, on condition of the earl's standing his friend at this crisis. The earl scarce heard the message to an end, answering with a furious look and gesture, "It is but small harm, methinks, although such mischievous traitors as Crichton and Livingston move war against each other; and it would ill become any of the ancient race of nobles to interfere to prevent their utter wreck and destruction. As for myself, nothing is more pleasing than to hear of their discord; and I hope I shall live to see the mischief they deserve condignly overwhelm both."

The siege by this time was laid around the castle of Edinburgh, when Crichton, having received this scornful answer from the earl of Douglas, asked an interview with his enemy Livingston, to whom he communicated the earl's reply as indicating no less hostility to the governor than to himself, and proposed that they should forget their private enmity, and unite to protect themselves against Douglas as their common enemy. At the same time, upon an understanding that he should receive honourable treatment, Crichton declared himself ready to yield up the castle to the governor. Livingston, after consulting his friends, accepted of Crichton's submission, confirmed him in his office of chancellor, and restored the castle of Edinburgh to his charge; and a course of friendship and amity seems for a short interval to have taken place betwixt the two rival statesmen.

they were accused of is not known ; but the extent of their power and the lawless character of their followers must have afforded enough of pretexts for condemnation, when the sentence rested with judges who were determined to make no allowance for the youth and inexperience of the accused parties, for the artifices by which they had been brought within the danger of the law, and for their being totally deprived of constitutional or legal defenders. The youthful earl and his brother were dragged from the mock judgment-seat to the castle-yard, where, in spite of the entreaties and prayers of the young king, they were cruelly beheaded. Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, a friend and adherent of their family, shared the fate of the unfortunate boys. The whole might be well pronounced a murder committed with the sword of justice.

Unquestionably Livingston and Crichton, the authors of this detestable treason, reckoned on its effects in depressing the house of Douglas, and producing general quiet and good order, the rather upon two accounts: the first was, that a large part of the unentailed property, in particular the estates of Galloway, Wigton, Balveny, Ormond, and Annandale, were severed from the inheritance which was to descend on the new earl of Douglas, and went to Margaret, the sister of the earl William who was beheaded in the castle, who was thence commonly called the Fair Maiden of Galloway. Another encouragement to the crime was the indolent and pacific disposition of James, called the Gross, the uncle of the murdered earl. This corpulent dignitary, whose fat is said to have weighed four stone, seems accordingly to have taken no measures whatever for avenging the death of his relatives ; on which account the historian of the Douglas family expresses his opinion that earl James's obesity had invested him with a dulness of spirit inconsistent with the quick feeling of honour that should have stimulated him to a bold revenge.

But the state took as little benefit from the division of the Douglas estates as from the peaceful temper of James the Gross. A marriage, hastily effected, between

William, son and heir of James the Gross, and his cousin-german, Margaret, the fair maid of Galloway, restored the whole of her immense possessions to the male heir of the house of Douglas: and James the Gross being removed by death within two years after the murder at Edinburgh castle, was succeeded by the same William, a youth in the flower of his age, of as ardent ambition as any of his towering house, and filled with hatred against Crichton and Livingston for their share in his kinsmen's death. Thus did the power of Douglas revive in its most dangerous form, within two years after the tragic execution in the castle of Edinburgh; and the political crime of Crichton and Livingston was, like many of the same dark complexion, committed in vain.

If we look at Scotland generally during this minority, it forms a dark and disgusting spectacle. Feudal animosities were revived in all corners of the country; and the barriers of the law having been in a great measure removed, the land was drenched with the blood of its inhabitants, shed by their countrymen and neighbours. In 1442 John Colquhoun, lord of Luss, was cut off, with many of his followers, by a party of Highlanders. In the subsequent year, the sheriff of Perth, sir William Ruthven, having arrested a Highland thief, and being in the act of leading him to execution, a rescue was attempted by a body of Athole mountaineers, headed by a chief named John Gorme, or Gormac.* The assailants were, however, defeated, and their leaders slain.

In the midst of universal complaint, bloodshed, and confusion, the king was approaching his fourteenth year. 14 He was easily persuaded, or brought to persuade himself, that he could govern more effectively without the control of Crichton and Livingston, while the greater part of his subjects were at least satisfied that he could not rule worse than with the assistance of such unscrupulous counsellors. This produced a desire on the part both of the king and his subjects to dissolve the regency; and the

* The Blue, so called, perhaps, from the colour of his dress.

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earl of Douglas, trusting to find his own advantage, and the means of prosecuting his revenge against Crichton and Livingston, with more art than his house had usually manifested, resolved to make personal advances to gain the king's favour, and prosecute his course to power rather as an ally and minister of the throne than the avowed rival and antagonist of the royal family.

There was an occasion shortly offered which afforded Douglas a graceful opportunity of approaching the king's person with offers of service and protestations of fidelity. Sir Robert Semple, sheriff-depute to the lord Erskine, was in the important charge of Dumbarton castle, while the upper baillie of the same fort was intrusted to Patrick Galbraith, a vassal of the earl of Douglas. For some unknown cause of suspicion, Semple deprived Galbraith of his charge, and ordered him to begone from the castle. Galbraith seemed to obey; but introducing a few men, under pretence of removing his furniture and household stuff, he suddenly attacked sir Robert Semple, and expelled, or, as other authorities say, slew him, and seized the whole fortress into his own possession.

The earl of Douglas assumed an appearance of great concern, as if Galbraith's dependence upon him might occasion this affair to be made a handle against him by his enemies. He therefore came to court, submitted himself to the king's will, placed his person in the royal power without reserve, and personated so well the expressions and behaviour of a good subject, that James was delighted to find in the earl of Douglas, who had been represented as a formidable rival, a vassal so powerful at once and so humble. The king received him not into favour only, but into confidential trust and power, and with the assistance received from him easily succeeded in assuming the supreme authority into his own hands, and in displacing Livingston and Crichton, who had governed in James's name since his father's death.

In modern times, the dismissal of a ministry whose government has lasted long and assumed an absolute character, is usually followed by enquiries and impeach-

ments: in the more ancient days, the ministers were called to account for their power by the terrors of a civil war. But the late chancellor and governor were, as the age required, soldiers as well as statesmen. Livingston shut himself up in the castle of Stirling, and determined on resistance; the chancellor also garrisoned his castles, and stood upon his defence. Douglas, armed with the royal authority, marched against the baronial castles of Crichton and of Barnton, both belonging to the late chancellor. These fortresses were held out against the Douglas's banner for several days, but surrendered when that of the king was displayed before them. Douglas caused them to be dismantled.

But the far more important castle of Edinburgh was stoutly defended by sir William Crichton in person: nor did he refrain from offensive measures; for, in revenge of the mischief done by Douglas to his lands, he made sallies out of the castle with force sufficient to destroy the lands of Abercorn and Strabroek, belonging to the earl. He continued to hold out the castle of Edinburgh for 14. nine weeks, and at last surrendered it on the most advantageous terms. He was confirmed in his honours, titles, and possessions; even his office of chancellor was restored to him. He seems to have formed an alliance with the earl of Douglas, and consented to take a share in his administration, surrendering at the same time to the earl's resentment sir Alexander Livingston, the king's governor.

This latter statesman was arrested, with many of his friends; and though his own gray hairs were spared, their ransom was dearly purchased by the decapitation of his two sons, and the destruction of his family. He himself was imprisoned, and with his kinsmen Dundas, Bruce, and others, subjected to ruinous fines and penalties.

The earl of Douglas now attained the high dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and having the universal management of state affairs, failed not to use his influence for the advancement of the overswollen importance of his house. Three of his brothers were created

peers. Archibald, by marrying with the heiress of the earl of Moray, succeeded to that title and estate; Hugh Douglas was made earl of Ormond; and John lord of Balveny.

Meantime the public tranquillity went to wreck on all hands; and one feud is distinguished by our historians from the rest, on account of the number and consequence of the parties engaged on both sides. The powerful earl of Crawford, by countenance and aid of the Livingstons, and by assistance of the family of Ogilvy, made an inroad on the property of the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, then held by James Kennedy, a near relation to the king. For this incursion, the bishop excommunicated the parties concerned on all the holidays of the year, with staff and mitre, book, bell, and candle. This, however, was but empty vengeance on men who made but slight account

1445. of his curses. A more effectual amends ensued from a quarrel between the master of Crawford and Ogilvy of Inverquhar, the chief of that great name, about the bailliewick of Aberbrothock, which the abbot had taken from Crawford and bestowed upon Ogilvy. They assembled their forces on each side; and the parties having met near the gates of the town of Aberbrothock, were prepared to fight it out, headed by the master of Crawford on the one side, and Inverquhar on the other. The Gordons, under the earl of Huntley, arrived on the field of battle, took the part of the Ogilvies, and the battle was about to join. At this moment the earl of Crawford rode forward between the two bodies, with the purpose of making terms. The master halted his forces at his father's command, and the earl was advancing towards the Ogilvies, when one of them, ignorant who he was, rode at him with his lance, threw him to the ground, and mortally wounded him. Both parties joined battle with mutual fury, and after a fierce conflict the Ogilvies were defeated, and their chief fell in the action, while his ally Huntley only escaped by flight. It gives an idea of the fury of this domestic feud, when we read that in this battle of Aberbrothock five hundred of the vanquished were slain on the field. The earl of Crawford did not

long survive this bloody field of private vengeance; and his body lay for a considerable time above ground, on account of the sentence of excommunication.

In the midst of this almost universal turmoil we may notice the death of Joanna, the queen mother, who hardly obtained permission to die in safety in the castle of Dunbar, that of Hales being stormed and taken for having afforded her temporary refuge. Her husband, the Black Knight of Lorn, having uttered some words reflecting on the administration of the earl of Douglas, saw himself compelled to leave Scotland. His misfortunes continued to attend him; the bark on which he sailed for France was taken by a Flemish corsair, and he died shortly after in a species of captivity.

In the mean time the earl of Douglas, who possessed the warlike character of his ancestors, defended the country against its external enemies with better success than that with which he maintained domestic tranquillity. The borderers, partaking the spirit of the unsettled times, had broken through the truce by incursions on both sides; and the discordant administrations of Henry VI. and James II., who strongly resembled each other in point of cabal and internal dissension, found that the two countries were at war, even without either government intending it. On the one side, Dumfries was burnt by young Percy and Robert Ogle; on the other, Lord Balveny, the youngest brother of Douglas, gave the town of Alnwick to the flames.

To make a deeper impression on the hostile country, the earl of Huntingdon and lord Percy crossed the western marches with about fifteen thousand men. They were met by Douglas at the head of a much inferior army, who either defeated or compelled them to retire. This foil only animated the English to a stronger effort. 14 They assembled an army amounting to twenty thousand men. They crossed the river Sark at low water, and found themselves in front of the Scottish force, under command of Hugh earl of Ormond, another brother of the Douglas family. Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, who seems to

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have been second in command of the Scottish army, he behaved himself with distinguished bravery. He was mortally wounded in leading the Scottish right wing into a close conflict with the left of the English, which was commanded by Magnus Redman, governor of Berwick, in whose military skill the English placed great confidence. The Scots, encouraged by their dying leader, pressed furiously forward: Magnus Redman was slain in the *mêlée*, and the English gave way. The *mar-Sark*, now augmented by the returning tide, lay in the rear of the fugitive army: many were drowned in the attempt to cross it. The English army lost three thousand men; and the young lord Percy and sir John Pennington were made prisoners.

1449. The truce was shortly after again removed by the English; and in the treaty on the occasion both parties disowned having been the cause of its being broken. About the same period, the interest of the earl of Douglas at the Scottish court began to decline. It is not to imagine various ways in which the earl's influence might have grown a minister may have given offence to the king, who, being now about the age of eighteen, might perhaps be disposed to look upon the earl as a rival rather than a servant of the throne. Most king's favourites, whose fortunes, however exalted, are nevertheless the work of their own hands, feel the earl's Douglas's power and splendour rested on hereditary honours and possessions, which the king could neither diminish nor take away. The misrule of the king's council, and the numerous and bitter feuds into which the court and country were universally said to be forever distracted, were the worst of evils was ascribed to the earl's influence; and it was still of that influence that the worst of felons was accused for the destruction of the king might completely secure himself, by the aid of the earl, from the deed at the execution of which he was condemned. A Douglas's quarrel.

Sir William Crichton's, who was a man of great acquaintance with state affairs, bore the king's great confidence; and the principal policy of the king was to

honourable commission of renewing the old alliance with France, and seeking out upon the continent a befitting match for the king. The election fell on Mary of Gueldres, with whom Philip of Burgundy agreed to give sixty thousand crowns of gold as the portion of his kinswoman, who had been educated at his court. The alliance with France was renewed, and one with Burgundy was entered into. The success of sir William Crichton in this negotiation, and the acceptable selection of his bride, raised the old statesman still higher in James's favour; and as he acquired the royal confidence, he had further opportunities of instilling into the sovereign's mind the rules of policy on which his father James I. had acted, with a view of raising the power of the crown, and depressing the feudal greatness of the nobility. These instructions were necessarily unfavourable to Douglas.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh, providing for 1450 the restoration of the progresses of the justiciary courts, which had been interrupted, and denouncing the penalties of rebellion against all persons who should presume to make private war on the king's subjects, declaring, that the whole force of the country should be led against them if necessary. Severe laws were made against spoilers and marauders; and regulations laid down that the nobility should travel with moderate trains, to avoid oppressing the country. Finally, a statute was passed imposing the pains of treason on any who should aid or supply with help or counsel those who were traitors to the king's person, or who should garrison houses in their defence, or aid such rebels in the assault of castles or other places where the king's person should happen to be for the time. The tendency of these laws shows the predominant evils which had taken root during the king's minority, and the remedies by which, when come to man's estate, James II. proceeded to attempt a cure.

The earl of Douglas, finding his court-favour upon the wane, began to withdraw himself from the king's, and, in despite of the laws which had been so lately enacted, to play the independent prince in his own country, which

comprehended all the borders, and great part of the west of Scotland. An instance of his mode of acting occurred in a feud between Richard Colville of Ochiltree and John Auchinleck of Auchinleck. The former having received some injuries from Auchinleck, watched an opportunity, while his enemy was journeying to wait upon the earl of Douglas, whose follower he was, and

1443. on the road waylaid and slew him. Douglas, considering this violence as a personal insult to himself, undertaken perhaps in scorn of his diminished power, instantly beset Colville's castle with a body of men, took it by force, and put the lord and his garrison to the sword. This daring contempt of the public law, though coloured over as the vengeance claimed by the memory of a worthy follower, was justly regarded at court as a daring insult to the royal authority, and so much resented by James, that the earl judged it prudent for a time to absent himself, not only from the court, but from the country.
1450. The earl of Douglas, therefore, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, which he performed magnificently, with a retinue of six knights, fourteen gentlemen, and eighty attendants of inferior rank. He was received at Paris with the honour due to his high family, and the memory of his ancestor who fell at Verneuil in the French service. Even at Rome the name of Douglas was respected, and the rude magnificence of the earl who bore it attracted attention and regard.

While Douglas was absent on his pilgrimage, his vassals continued to be disorderly and insubordinate as before. Symington, the earl's bailiff in Douglasdale, was cited to answer for the conduct of such malefactors, but contumaciously refused to obey. Upon this, William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, then chancellor of Scotland, was sent to levy distress on the rents and goods of the earl of Douglas, to satisfy those who complained of injury from his tenants. The chancellor's mission met with no success, for he was received only with resistance and insult. The king, incensed at this contumacy offered to the

at your pleasure." He then mounted his good horse, and, unable any longer to suppress his burning sense of the insult and injury with which he had been treated, he sternly said, "My lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded according to your demerits for this day's work."* The earl, incensed at these words, instantly called to horse; and though sir Patrick Gray rode off upon the spur so soon as he had uttered the threat, he was chased by the followers of the Douglas till near to Edinburgh, and would have been taken but for the excellence of his led horse.

It is probable that this piece of cruelty, accompanied with such a marked degree of contempt, not only to the laws but to the person of the king, filled up the cup of James's resentment against the earl of Douglas. Still the extreme power which rendered this overgrown noble so presumptuous made it perilous for the king to enter into open war against him. It was therefore determined by Crichton and others, who shared in the king's more secret councils, that the king should affect an appearance of good will towards the earl, and invite him to court, with assurances that none of his past enormities should be enquired into, and that a reconciliation should be effected, on the footing of Douglas's forbearing such aggressions against the royal authority in future.

By what allurements the king and his counsellors were able to lull to rest the suspicions which Douglas, conscious of his own demerits, must have entertained of James's feelings towards one by whom he had been publicly insulted, we have no means of knowing. It appears that religion, too often employed as the most efficient mask of sinister designs, was not spared on the occasion; and that sir William Crichton and sir Patrick Gray had proposed to accompany Douglas and his brother James, with lord Hamilton, his most powerful and faithful follower, upon a pilgrimage to Canterbury.

* This circumstance renders it most probable that the castle of Douglas was the scene of this strange incident: that of the Thrieve being situated on an island, sir Patrick Gray could not have escaped from it on horseback. ..

upon the bond or league in which Douglas had engaged with the earls of Crawford and Ross, and earnestly urged him to renounce it as a confederacy inconsistent with his allegiance, dangerous to the state, and contrary to the express law of the realm. The earl haughtily replied, that, his faith being once pledged to that bond as a solemn engagement, he could not with his honour renounce it, nor would he do so for the words of any living man. "By heaven, then," said the king, his wrath being excited to the uttermost by the obdurate and disrespectful answer of the earl, "if you will not break the confederacy, this shall." So saying, he drew his dagger, and plunged it in Douglas's body. Sir Patrick Gray came to the assistance of the king, and, not unmindful of his vow of revenge, beat Douglas down with his battle-axe, and all the courtiers present attested their approbation of the deed, by striking their knives and daggers into the too powerful subject, who lay now a corpse at the feet of his sovereign.

The character of James II. suffered a great stain by the death of Douglas, slain by his own hand while the royal guest, under sanction of the public faith. But circumstances acquit the king of the premeditated guilt of the action, and show it to have been the furious explosion of a sudden gust of passion, which, if pardonable in any person, may plead some excuse in the case of a prince braved to the face by his subject. * Indeed, what end could the king or his counsellors propose to themselves by taking the earl's life, when in the very town of Stirling, at the moment of the deed, he had five surviving brothers, men of undaunted courage and resolution, the eldest of whom must have succeeded, as in fact he did, to the full power of the shattered earl? Such a crime, therefore, could only be the result of instantly precipitating that dreadful struggle between the crown and the aristocracy which it was the policy of the court to delay till some more favourable opportunity, and which would certainly be more properly commenced by an act carrying with it the sanction of

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of exposing the king to a charge of perfidy or breach of faith. If, however, it is to be believed that the death of Douglas was a premeditated action, it is still certain that the manner in which it was perpetrated must have arisen out of accident, since there occur so many obvious reasons why other agency than that of the king himself should have been employed for his removal, and in finding such there could have been no difficulty.

But the reader may demand, what could be the purpose of James, if not to rid himself of his turbulent subject by death. If we are to substitute conjecture where certainty is not to be had, we may suggest the probability that the king had determined to arrest Douglas in case he was found intractable, and to detain him a hostage for the quiet demeanour of his family, until his league with the northern earls was broken, and the height of his dangerous power was in some degree diminished. There might be in this device some part of the policy, as well as the unscrupulous breach of faith, which characterised the politics of such a statesman as Crichton; and considering the vehement character of James II. and the stubborn and presumptuous disposition of the earl, it is easy to conceive how, in a personal interview betwixt two such hot and passionate spirits, the intended purpose of arrest should have been changed for one of a more bloody and decisive character.

The five brothers of the slaughtered earl, on hearing his fate, instantly assembled themselves, and with the friends of their powerful family recognised the eldest of their number as earl of Douglas, being the last that was fated to wear that formidable title. The assembly vowed revenge for the blood of earl William; but, instead of pressing an instant siege of Stirling castle, ere it was supplied with provisions or means of defence, they agreed to meet there in arms on the 25th day of March. They assembled accordingly, bringing with them the safe-conduct granted to earl William, which they dragged in scorn at the tail of a lean cart-horse;

and in further reprobation of the king's treachery they proclaimed him and his advisers and accomplices in the death of Douglas false, perjured, and forsworn men, while four hundred horns blew out at once to attest the fact thus formally promulgated. They then burnt the town of Stirling, but drew off their forces, as finding themselves still unable to attempt the siege of the castle, so that the king obtained some breathing space to improve his affairs in a very dangerous crisis.

Several of the nobility, seeing it absolutely necessary to take a part in the approaching contest, declared for the lawful authority of the crown, feeling, probably, that the control of a sovereign prince was more honourable certainly, and not likely to be so severe as that of the house of Douglas. Among those who held such opinions was an important chief of the house of Douglas itself, namely, the earl of Angus, who, being nearly related to the king, preferred the royal service to that of the head of his own house. The lord Douglas of Dalkeith also held out his castle, so named, against the fiercest attacks of the earl his namesake and kinsman. The king's most powerful adherent was, however, Alexander Gordon, the first earl of Huntley, who arrayed under the royal standard a great part of the northern barons, and marched southward at their head towards Stirling.

The earl of Crawford was, however, faithful to his bond of alliance, though Douglas, with whom it had been contracted, was no more. Being cited to justify himself against an accusation of treason, he refused to obey, and assembling a strong army of his friends in Fifeshire and Angusshire, he took post at Brechin, in order to intercept Huntley on his march towards Stirling. On the evening before the expected battle, Huntley, that his men might have more spirit in the encounter the next day, distributed many fair lands among the leaders of his army. Crawford followed a more niggardly policy. Collasse of Balnamoon, or Bonnymoon, who commanded a select division of axe-men and bill-men in the earl's army, feeling his own importance, requested of the earl,

who was superior of his lands, that he would enter his son as vassal in the fief, which Crawford sternly refused to do. Collasse retired in discontent. The fight on the May morrow commenced with great fury, and the men 18. of Angus attacked the northern troops so furiously as 1452. forced them to recoil, and placed the king's standard in danger. At this critical moment, John Col-lasse, whose duty it was to have sustained the assailants, led his division of bill-men out of the line, and exposed the centre of Crawford's army without support, while the left wing engaged with the enemy. Huntley instantly availed himself of the opportunity to assault and break the troops who were thus laid open. The fortune of the field was thus changed, and the defeated earl of Crawford retreated in great displeasure to his house at Finhaven. A gentleman of Huntley's army is said to have pursued the vanquished earl so closely, that he at last became completely involved in a crowd of the immediate attendants of lord Crawford, and finding it necessary for his safety to pass for one of the number, he followed them in that character into the house of Finhaven, where he heard the earl say he would have been content to have purchased that day's victory, though it were at the penalty of seven years' residence in the infernal regions. The gentleman brought back these words to king James with a silver cup, bearing the earl of Crawford's arms, which he had subtracted from the sideboard in the confusion, to be a voucher of his strange adventure.

The earl of Huntley did not derive much immediate advantage from his victory. He was instantly recalled to the north, by the intelligence that the earl of Murray, one of the brethren of the earl of Douglas, had burned his castle of Strathbogie, and was ravaging his estates : so that Crawford remained in Angus as arbitrary as before, spoiling the lands and destroying the houses of such as had joined the king or Huntley against him. Despairing, however, of making an effectual resistance against the sovereign authority, this bold and fierce lord at length

submitted himself in the most humble manner to the king's mercy, and was received with some degree of favour. The king rode to visit him at the house of Finhaven, where he was dutifully and respectfully entertained; and James is said to have thrown a flag-stone from the battlements of the castle down into the ditch, that he might, without injury to the earl or his mansion, fulfil a vow which he had made in his anger, that he would make the highest stone of that house the lowest.

1453. Shortly afterwards some species of peace or truce seems to have been patched up between the king and the earl of Douglas, with little sincerity on either side, but from a feeling of unwillingness in both to carry to extremity a contest which must inevitably terminate in the destruction of the house of Douglas or that of Stewart, now exasperated by mutual wrongs, and placed in the most direct opposition to each other. But the pause of a few months again awakened the contending families to contention, which had never perhaps been actually suspended, but was now to be final and decisive. The forces of the parties stood thus matched:—

In the north the king's interest predominated, though not without a struggle; Huntley having been defeated by Murray, at a swampy spot called the Bog of Dunkintie. The consequence of these feuds to the community at large may be guessed by the fate of the town of Elgin. One part of the town was burned by the earl of Murray as the property of citizens who favoured the Gordon: Huntley having recovered the superiority in his turn, it is most likely the other half was consumed as houses belonging to adherents of Douglas. Meantime both Murray and Ormond felt in the long run unequal to defend themselves in the north against the families of distinction who joined the king's standard, and they both retreated to the Hebrides.

The earl of Douglas, after the temporary reconciliation with his sovereign, had retreated to England with several members of his family, and particularly with Margaret, called the Fair Maiden of Galloway, widow of

parently faithful minister, had died before these second tumults commenced ; but he had a wise and able counsellor in James Kennedy, archbishop of Saint Andrew's, to whose advice he listened on this occasion. This sagacious prelate reminded James that the camp of the Douglas, though containing a very large host, consisted of numerous chieftains who followed the insurgent earl not from attachment, but either out of awe for his power, or hopes that they might gain something in the conflict. Could the expectations and fears of such persons be withdrawn from Douglas and fixed on the king, there would be no difficulty in transferring their allegiance to the crown. "The foe," said the sagacious prelate, "are like a sheaf of arrows: while they remain bound together, it were vain to attempt to break them; but sever the tie which unites them together, and a child may shiver them one after another."

Acting upon the counsel which he gave, the primate undertook to lop a main limb from the Douglas's enterprise, by a private communication with Hamilton, who commanded a chosen body of troops in Douglas's army. He had been the uniform and attached friend of earl William of Douglas, murdered at Stirling, and was now that of earl James. But he began to perceive that the latter had too little of the decisive character belonging to his house to bring the present conflict to an honourable or advantageous issue. He listened, therefore, but did not close immediately with the proposal of the archbishop, that he should embrace the royal party, and he hesitated between the sense of what was most for his own interest and personal advantage, and that which friendship and honour required of him.

The king now advanced with his host, and Douglas drew out his forces to meet him. The king's heralds advancing, charged the rebels to disperse, under the pains of treason ; and though Douglas returned a scornful answer, he saw the royal proclamation had such influence on his army, that he was induced to suspend the impending action till next day, and lead his troops back into his intrench-

ments. Douglas had no sooner entered his pavilion than Hamilton requested to speak with him, and demanded positive information whether it was the earl's purpose to fight or no, declaring it was high time they should know his mind, since, while the royal army was every day increasing, theirs was thinned by constant desertion. "If you are tired," answered Douglas, without farther explanation of his intention, "you are welcome to be gone." Hamilton took the earl at his word, and that very night passed over to the royal camp from that of Douglas with the chosen troops which he commanded, being three hundred horse, and as many infantry. The example was contagious, for the character of Hamilton for prudence and sagacity stood very high. All the chiefs considered his change of sides as an example tending to show them the only possible mode of escaping from ruin, and contended which should be the first to act upon it. The army of insurgents dissolved like a snow-wreath in a sudden thaw, and on the fateful morning succeeding that in which the earl Douglas led out an host of nearly forty thousand men, his empty camp scarce contained a hundred soldiers save his own household troops.

The secession of Hamilton to the royal cause was deservedly regarded as excellent service. He was, for appearance sake, put in ward for a while at Roslin, under the charge of the earl of Orkney. But the king's favour was shown to him by large grants of forfeited estates, and by the title of lord of parliament, which raised first to nobility the great ducal house of Hamilton. The earl of Douglas broke up his camp and withdrew with his diminished squadrons to take refuge in the wildest districts of the border, where they lurked as exiles and fugitives in the countries which they had lately commanded with sovereign power. The castle of Abercorn, despairing of relief, soon surrendered, and of the defenders some principal persons were put to death for holding out the place against the king. James II. proceeded to march his army through the west and south of Scotland, where his powerful opponents had lately been proprietors of the

soil, and leaders, if not tyrants, of the people, and with slight resistance reduced all the strong places of the Douglases to his own authority. Douglas castle itself, that of Strathaven, and that of the Thrieve, were in this manner taken and demolished.

About the same time, and while the king was making his triumphant progress, Douglas himself fled into England with a very few attendants. His three brothers, Moray, Ormond, and Balveny, remained on the borders at the head of the remains of the followers of their family, and maintained them by military licence. This, and the hope of benefiting by their forfeitures, aroused against them the clan of Scott, already, under their chief, Buccleuch, rising into formidable distinction in the west and middle marches. The Beattiesons, a numerous and bold people, with other borderers, united under the leading of Scott. All these clans had been lately numbered among the vassals of Douglas, and had owned his authority; but the failure before Abercorn had emboldened them to throw off the yoke, and bid defiance to the banners under which they had at no distant period ranked themselves. A conflict took place at Arkinholm, near Langholm, where the hands of Douglas were totally defeated by these border clans. The earl of Moray was slain; the earl of Ormond taken prisoner, condemned; and executed; and of the brethren of Douglas the lord Balveny alone escaped into England.

The history of this the last of the original branch of the Douglas family may as well be terminated here. Having during his prosperity maintained a close intercourse with the house of York, who were then in power, Douglas was hospitably received in England. In the year 1483, he, with the duke of Albany, then a banished noble like himself, made an incursion into Scotland, having vowed they would make their offer on the high altar of Lochmaben upon Saint Magdalen's day. The west border men rose to repel the incursion. The exiles were defeated, and the earl of Douglas struck from his horse. Surrounded by enemies, and seeing on the field a son of

Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, once his own follower, the earl as an old friend, he might profit by the reward of 100*l*. surrendered himself to him in preference to others, that he might set upon his head. Kirkpatrick wept to see the extremity to which his old master was reduced, and offered to set him at liberty, and fly with him into England. But Douglas, weary of exile, was resigned to his fate. When the aged prisoner came before the king, James III. commanded him to be put into the cloister at Lindores. The earl only replied, "He that may no better must be a monk." He assumed the tonsure accordingly, and died about 1488.

Thus, after an obscure conflict with those who had been so lately its dependants, fell, and for ever, the formidable power of the house of Douglas, which had so lately measured itself against that of monarchy. It can only be compared to the gourd of the prophet, which, spreading with such miraculous luxuriance, was withered in a single night. The indecision and imbecility of earl James, who did not chance to possess the qualities of military skill and political wisdom which had seemed till his time almost hereditary in this great family, appear to have been the immediate cause of their destruction. But there was moral justice in the lesson, that a house raised to power by the inappreciable services and indelible loyalty of the good lord James and his successors, should fall by the irregular ambition and treasonable practices of its later chiefs.

In a parliament called at Edinburgh some care was taken that lavish grants of the domains of the crown should not become again the cause of bringing the kingdom into danger; "forasmuch," says the statute, "as the poverty of the crown is often the cause of the poverty of the realm." It was therefore declared, that certain castles and domains should be inalienably annexed to the crown. It was further provided, that the import-ant office of warden of the marches, which comprehended so much power, and the command of so many warlike

claus, should not be hereditary; that, in like manner, regalities, or jurisdictions, possessing regal power, should not in future be bestowed upon subjects without the consent of the estates. These enactments were judiciously calculated to prevent the raising up in any other family the same power of disturbing the domestic tranquillity which the Douglasses had so unhappily attained.

Yet, though the policy of retaining these forfeitures in the crown was distinctly seen, it could not in prudence be invariably acted upon. The king had no other means of rewarding the services of the loyal chiefs who had stood by the crown in the last struggle, than by grants out of the estates of the traitors; and the lands of the Douglas family, large as they were, were inadequate to satisfy the numerous expectants. The chief of these was the earl of Angus, a large and flourishing branch of the Douglas, sprung from a second son of the earl of the principal family. The present Angus, as already mentioned, had been a loyalist during his kinsman's usurpation, which, from the difference of the family complexion, led to a popular saying, that the Red Douglas had put down the Black. The earl of Angus was rewarded with a grant of Douglas castle with its valley and domains, of Tantallon castle, and other large portions of the ancient estates of the Douglas family; an imprudent profusion, it must be allowed, since it served to raise this younger branch to a height not much less formidable to the crown than that which the original Douglasses had attained. Gordon, in the north, was not forgotten; and the southern chieftains profiting largely by the forfeiture of the Douglasses, easily obtained gifts of considerable possessions which no one but they themselves could have occupied with safety. In a word, if the king distinctly saw the policy of enriching the crown, which the statutes of his reign imply, it is as certain he found it impossible to follow the maxim rigidly without restricting the necessary bounty to his adherents. It was no time to lose men's hearts for lack of liberality; for the ashes of the civil hostility were

having differed in opinion of the plan of the campaign, they quarrelled among themselves, and retired with disgrace. The cause of these internal discords in the English camp probably arose out of the dissensions concerning the red and white roses, which were now engrossing the nation. The truce with England was prolonged for nine years. James, however, seems to have deemed the period favourable for recovering such Scottish possessions as were still held by the English; accordingly we find him breaking through the truce.

1460. It was with this view that the king collected a numerous army, and laid siege to Roxburgh, which had now been in possession of the English since the captivity of David II., and, as a military post, was of the greatest importance, being very strongly situated between the Tweed and Teviot, and not far from their confluence, in the most fertile part of the Scottish frontier. John the lord of the isles appeared in the royal camp, to atone for former errors and treasonable actions by zeal on the present occasion. He led a select body of Highlanders and islesmen armed with shirts of mail, two-handed swords, bows, and battle-axes, with which he offered to take the vanguard of the army should it be necessary to enter England, and to march a mile before the main body, so as to encounter the first brunt of the onset. Invasion, however, made no part of James's purpose on this occasion. He was desirous to recover possession of Roxburgh, and not being apprehensive of relief from England, resolved to proceed in the siege according to formal rule. He beleaguered the castle on every side, and battered it from the north of the Tweed, his cannon being placed in the duke of Roxburgh's park of Fleurs. James was proud of his train of cannon, and of the skill of a French engineer, who could level them so truly as to hit within a fathom of the place he aimed at, which, in these days, was held extraordinary practice. The siege had not continued many days when the arrival of the earl of Huntley, whose valour and fidelity the king had been so much indebted with a gallant body of forces from the north,

CHAP. XX.

ROXBURGH IS TAKEN. — ADMINISTRATION DURING JAMES'S MINORITY. — HE ASSUMES THE ROYAL AUTHORITY, BY ADVICE OF THE BOYDS. — THE YOUNGER BOYD IS CREATED EARL OF ARRAN, AND MARRIED TO THE KING'S SISTER. — HE NEGOTIATES A MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE KING AND A PRINCESS OF DENMARK, AND OBTAINS THE ORKNEY AND ZETLAND ISLANDS IN SECURITY OF THE DOWERY : IS DISGRACED, AND DIES IN OBSCURITY. — TREATY OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE PRINCE OF SCOTLAND AND A DAUGHTER OF ENGLAND, AND ITS CONDITIONS : BROKEN OFF BY EDWARD IV. — SUBMISSION OF THE LORD OF THE ISLES. — CHARACTER OF JAMES III. — HIS FAVOURITE PURSUITS. — HIS DISPOSITION TO FAVOURITISM. — CHARACTER OF ALBANY AND MAR, THE KING'S BROTHERS. — THE KING IMPRISONS THEM ON SUSPICION. — ALBANY ESCAPES. — MAR IS MURDERED. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — CONSPIRACY OF LAUDER. — THE KING'S FAVOURITE SEIZED AND EXECUTED. — INTRIGUES OF ALBANY. — HE IS RECEIVED INTO HIS BROTHER'S FAVOUR ; BUT IS AFTERWARDS AGAIN BANISHED. — PEACE WITH ENGLAND. — THE KING GIVES WAY TO HIS TASTE FOR MUSIC AND BUILDING. — CONSPIRACY OF THE SOUTHERN NOBLES. — BATTLE OF SAUCHYBURN, AND THE KING'S MURDER.

THE sudden death of James II. struck such a damp into the Scottish nobles, that they were about to abandon the siege of Roxburgh, and break up their camp, when the courage of Mary of Gueldres, the widowed queen, re-animated their spirits. She arrived in the camp almost immediately after the king's death, and throwing herself and her son, their infant sovereign, upon the faith of the Scottish lords, conjured them never to remove the siege from this ill-fated castle till they had laid it in ruins. The nobles caught fire at her exhortations. They crowned their king at the neighbouring abbey of Kelso, with such ceremonies of homage and royalty as the time admitted, and, pressing the siege with double vigour, compelled the English garrison to surrender on terms. The castle of Roxburgh they levelled to the ground, agreeably to the policy recommended by Robert Bruce. The vestiges of its walls still show the extent and consequence of which it had formerly boasted.

The queen regent naturally retained a considerable influence in the government, and seems to have acted for some time as regent, with the assistance of a council of state. Her conduct, however, which was not personally respectable, considerably diminished her influence before her death, which took place when she was in the full vigour of life. Kennedy archbishop of Saint Andrews, the wise and loyal friend of his father, became the personal guardian of the infant king. The rapid changes of fortune occurring in the wars of York and Lancaster saved Scotland during this minority from the dangers arising from her ambitious neighbours. The meek usurper, Henry VI., was received with hospitality in Scotland during his exile after the battle of Towton; and Berwick, an important acquisition, was delivered up by his authority to the Scots, and duly gar- risoned. The assistance rendered by Scotland to the de-throned king occasioned a brief war with England, urged with little zeal on either side, and which soon terminated by a truce, which in 1463 was extended to the unusually long period of fifty-five years.

The death of the queen mother and of archbishop Kennedy now opened to the king, who was in his fourteenth year, the dangerous privilege of acting for himself. Subject all his life to the weakness of adopting favourites, to whom he intrusted the charge of public affairs, when the nation had a right to expect they should be administered by himself personally, James surrendered himself to his immediate partialities. Robert lord Boyd, with his two sons, were at this time high in James's confidence; and the royal favour filled them with such presumption, that they removed the person of the king from those to whom his custody had been committed by the estates of the kingdom, and brought him to Edinburgh, under pretence of setting him at liberty. A new parliament was convoked, in which lord Boyd was formally pardoned for his late audacious enterprise; and, to add to the authority of the family, the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of James II., and sister to the king, was

given in marriage to sir Thomas Boyd, who was at the same time created earl of Arran.

67. An important acquisition to the Scottish dominions was effected in this reign, feeble as it was. The Orkney islands had as yet remained part of the Norwegian dominions, having been seized by that people in the ninth century. A large sum of money was due from Scotland to Denmark, being the arrears of the annual, as it was called, of Norway. This was the annuity of one hundred marks, due to Norway as the consideration for the cession of the Hebrides, or Western Isles, settled by the treaty of 1264, entered into after Haco's defeat at the battle of Largs. James I. had obtained some settlement respecting this annuity; but it had been again permitted to fall into arrear, and the amount of the debt had become uncertain.

Under the influence of Charles VII. of France there had been negotiations between Denmark and Scotland for the final arrangement of these claims, which were renewed in 1468. Boyd, the young earl of Arran, seems to have managed this treaty with considerable dexterity. It was finally agreed that James III. should wed a daughter of the princess of Denmark, whom her father proposed to endow with a portion of sixty thousand florins, of which ten thousand only were to be paid in ready money, and for security of the remainder the islands of Orkney were to be assigned in pledge. In addition to this, Denmark renounced all claim to the arrears of the annuity payable on account of the cession of the Hebrides, which seem to have been given up as an old, prescribed, and somewhat desperate claim. When the term for payment of the ten thousand florins arrived, Christian of Denmark found himself so short of money that he could only produce the fifth part of the sum, and for the rest an assignment of security over the archipelago of Zetland was offered and gladly accepted. Thus Scotland acquired a right of mortgage to the whole of these islands, constituting the ancient Thule, so important to her in every point of view, and which, as we shall here-

land became bound to repay the sum of money advanced in manner aforesaid, under the deduction of two thousand five hundred marks, which Edward agreed to abandon as a consideration paid for the friendship of Scotland at a critical period. By the same treaty the long truce of fifty-five years was affirmed and secured.

It appears from this remarkable treaty that the policy of Louis XI., who maintained his power in Europe more by influence and subsidies than by the direct exercise of positive violence and force, was becoming general through Europe, and had been adopted by England.

The payment of the princess Cecilia's portion so long before the possibility of an effectual marriage taking place, afforded an honourable pretext for England to give and Scotland to receive by instalments a certain large sum of money or subsidy, by which annual gratification she was to be induced to maintain amity with her wealthier neighbour. Edward IV. was, however, too impetuous and too necessitous to continue long this expensive, though secure course of policy. Three years' instalments of the proposed portion were paid with regularity; but Edward in the course of 1478 conceived he stood so well with France as might enable him to dispense with the expensive friendship of Scotland.

In the same year in which the treaty of marriage with England was fixed upon, the counsellors of James III. resolved to proceed to check the power of John lord of the isles and titular earl of Ross, whose insubordination again had merited chastisement. After a show of resistance the island lord submitted himself, and by an act of parliament was finally deprived of the earldom of Ross, which was annexed inalienably to the crown, with liberty to the kings to convey it as an appanage to their younger sons, but to no meaner subject. The humbled lord of the isles was also deprived of the regions of Knapdale and Cantire, which he had possessed on the continent, and dismissed under promise to be a submissive subject in future.

James the third had now attained his twenty-first

year under circumstances of success which had attended no Scottish monarch since Robert Bruce. His kingdom was strengthened by the expulsion of the English from Roxburgh castle and the town of Berwick, as well as by the acquisition of the Orkney and Zetland islands, the natural dependencies of Scotland. The country was relieved of the charge of the Norway annual, a burden it was incapable of discharging: and the increasing consequence of the nation was manifested by the contending offers of France and England for her favour and friendship. All these advantages indicate that James had, at this period of his reign, able ministers, by whom his counsels were directed. The chief of these probably was the chancellor, Andrew Stewart, lord Evandale, whose importance was now so great, that, in virtue of his office, he took rank next to the princes of the blood royal. He was a natural son of sir James Stewart, son of Murdach duke of Albany.

In the mean time the unfortunate James began to disclose evil qualities and habits which his youth had hitherto concealed from observation. He had a dislike to the active sports of hunting and the games of chivalry, mounted on horseback rarely, and rode ill. A consciousness of these deficiencies, in what were the most approved accomplishments of the age, and a certain shyness which attends a timorous temper, rendered the king alike unfit and unwilling to mingle in the pleasures of his nobility, or to show himself to his subjects in the romantic pageants which were the delight of the age. James's amusements were of a character in which neither his peers nor people could share, and though to a certain extent they were innocent, and even honourable, they were yet such as, pushed to excess, must have necessarily interfered with the regular discharge of his royal duties. He was attached to what are now called the fine arts of architecture and music; and in studying these used the instructions of Rogers, an English musician, Cochrane, a mason or architect, and Torphichen, a dancing-master. Another of his domestic minions was Honnill, a tailor,

not the least important in the conclave, if we may judge from the variety and extent of the royal wardrobe, of which a voluminous catalogue is preserved.

Spending his time with such persons, who, whatever their merit might be in their own several professions, could not be fitting company for a prince, James necessarily lost the taste for society of a different description, whose rank imposed on him a certain degree of restraint; and with the habit of engaging in good society easily, he left unpractised the manners which ought to distinguish the prince when mixing with the nobility of his realm. Thus thrown back upon his low-born associates, it was scarcely possible that James should not have used the counsels of men totally ignorant in political affairs, upon matters far above their sphere; or that they, with the presumption common to upstarts, should not readily interpose their advice on such subjects. The nation, therefore, with disgust and displeasure saw the king disuse the society of the Scottish nobles, and abstain from their counsel, to lavish favours upon and be guided by the advice of a few whom the age termed base mechanics.

In this situation, the public eye was fixed upon James's younger brothers, Alexander duke of Albany and John earl of Mar. These princes were remarkable for the royal qualities which the king did not possess. Being naturally drawn into comparison with their brother, and extolled above him by the public voice, James seems to have become jealous of them, even on account of their possessing the virtues or endowments which he himself was conscious of wanting. It is too consonant with the practice of courts to suppose that Mar and Albany were not quiescent under this dishonourable suspicion and jealousy. It is probable that they intrigued with the other discontented nobles; with what purpose, or to what extent, cannot now be ascertained. Mar was accused of having enquired of pretended witches concerning the term of the king's life; a suspicious subject of enquiry, considering it was made by so near a relation; and the progress of Albany's life shows him capable of unscrupulous ambition.

The king, on his part, resorted to diviners and sooth-sayers to know his own future fate; and the answer (probably dictated by the favourite Cochrane) was, that he should fall by the means of his nearest of kin. The unhappy monarch, with a self-contradiction, one of the many implied in superstition, imagined that his brothers were the relations indicated by the oracle; and also imagined that his knowledge of their intentions might enable him to alter the supposed doom of fate.

1478. Albany and Mar were suddenly arrested, as the king's suspicions grew darker and more dangerous; and while the duke was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, Mar was committed to that of Craigmillar. Conscious, probably, that the king possessed matter which might afford a pretext to take his life, Albany resolved on his escape. He communicated his scheme to a faithful attendant, by whose assistance he intoxicated, or, as some accounts say, murdered the captain of the guard, and then attempted to descend from the battlements of the castle by a rope. His attendant made the essay first; but the rope being too short, he fell, and broke his thigh-bone. The duke, warned by this accident, lengthened the rope with the sheets from his bed, and made the perilous descent in safety. He transported his faithful attendant on his back to a place of security, then was received on board a vessel which lay in the roads of Leith, and set sail for France, where he met a hospitable reception, and was maintained by the bounty of Louis XI.

1479. Enraged at the escape of the elder of his captives, it would seem that James was determined to make secure of Mar, who remained. There occur no records to show that the unfortunate prince was subjected to any public trial; nor can it be known, save by conjecture, how far James III. was accessory to the perpetration of his murder, which was said to be executed by bleeding the prisoner to death in a bath. Several persons were at the same time condemned and executed for acts of witchcraft, charged as having been practised, at Mar's instance, against the life of the king.

About this time war broke out between the two sister countries of Britain, after an interval of peace of unusual duration. The blame may have originally lain with England, who had violated the articles of the last treaty, in discontinuing the stipulated payment of the princess Cecilia's portion; but the incursions of the Scots gave the first signal for actual hostilities. Wise regulations were laid down by the Scottish parliament for garrisoning, with hired soldiers, Berwick, the Hermitage castle, and other fortresses on the border, the expense to be defrayed from the public revenue. If Edward IV., who is discourteously termed the *weifur* or robber, should invade Scotland, it was appointed that the king should take the field, and that the whole nobles and commons should live or die with him.

Edward IV., on his part, desirous to obtain an advantage similar to that which had been gained by Edward I. and Edward III., by means of the Baliol's claim to the Scottish throne, made proposals to the banished duke of Albany that he should set himself up as a competitor for his brother's throne. Whatever had been the specious virtue of Albany, it was of a kind easily seduced by temptation; and, like Baliol in similar circumstances, he hastened from France over to England, agreed to become king of Scotland under the patronage of Edward, consented to resign the long-disputed question of the independence of his country, promised the abandonment of Berwick and other places on the border, and undertook to restore to his estate the banished earl of Douglas, who was to be a party in the projected invasion. Under this agreement, which was, however, kept strictly secret, the celebrated duke of Gloucester, afterwards king Richard III., was detached to the Scottish wars at the head of a considerable army, and Albany accompanied him.

The Scottish king had in the mean time assembled his army, and set forward against the enemy. But there existed a spirit of disaffection among his nobility, which led to an unexpected explosion. Cochrane, the mason, the most able, or at least the most bold, of the king's

plebeian favourites, had made so much money by accepting of bribes and selling his interest in the king's favour, that he was able to purchase from his master James, who added avarice to the other vices of a groveling and degraded spirit, the earldom of Mar. It is an additional shade of meanness in James's character, that, when satisfied with the amount of the consideration to be paid, he never hesitated at conferring upon a low-born upstart the lordship which had belonged to his late murdered brother. Cochrane proceeded in his career. The insatiable extortioner amassed money by indirect means of every kind ; and one mode which particularly affected the poor was the debasement of the coin of the realm, by mixing the silver with so much copper as entirely to destroy its value. This adulterated coin was called the Cochrane-plack, and was so favourite a speculation of his, that, having been told it would be one day called in, he answered scornfully, " Yes, on the day I am hanged ;" an unwitting prophecy, which was punctually accomplished.

The rank and state affected by the new earl of Mar only more deeply incensed the nobility, who considered their order as disgraced by the introduction of such a person. A band of three hundred men constantly attended the favourite, armed with battle-axes, and displaying his livery of white with black fillets. He himself used to appear in a riding suit of black velvet, his horn mounted with gold, and hung around his neck by a chain of the same metal. In this manner he joined the Scottish host. The army had advanced from the capital as far as Lauder, when the nobility, beginning to feel sensible of their power in a camp consisting chiefly of their own soldiers and feudal followers, resolved that they would meet together, and consult what measures were to be taken for the reform of the abuses of the commonwealth, having already in vain represented their grievances to the king.

The armed conclave was held in Lauder church, where, in the course of their deliberations, Lord Gray reminded them of the fable in which the mice are said to have laid

a project for preventing the future ravages of the cat by tying a bell around her neck, which might make them aware of her approach. "An excellent proposal," said the orator, "but which fell unexpectedly to the ground, because none of the mice had courage enough to fasten the bell on the cat's neck." "I will bell the cat!" exclaimed Douglas earl of Angus; from which he was ever afterwards called by the homely appellation of Archibald Bell the Cat. It was agreed that the king's favourites should be seized and put to death, and the king himself should be placed under some gentle restraint, until he should give satisfactory assurance of a change of measures.

Just as this was determined on, Cochrane came to the council, and demanded admission. He was suffered to enter with some of his attendants, but was received with the scorn and indignation which were the natural preface of actual violence. Douglas of Lochleven, who kept the door, snatched from him the hunting-horn that hung round his neck. "Thou hast hunted mischief," he said, "over long." Angus seized the chain which held the bugle, saying, "A halter would suit him better." "Is it jest or earnest, my lords?" said the astonished favourite, surprised at his reception. "It is sorrowful earnest," they answered, "and that thou shalt presently feel." One or two, deemed the most grave of the nobles, undertook to acquaint the king with their purpose; while the others, seizing the minions who were the objects of their violence, caused them to be hanged over the bridge of Launder. Cochrane, when brought to the place of execution, showed how much a paltry love of show made part of his character. He made it his suit to be hanged in a silken cord, and offered to supply it from his own pavilion. This idle request only taught his stern auditors how to wound his feelings more deeply. "Thou shalt die," they said, "like a mean slave as thou art;" and applied to the posture of his execution a halter of horse-hair, as the most degrading means of death which they could invent. This execution was done with excessive applause on the part

of the army. All the favourites of the weak prince perished, except a youth called Ramsay of Balmain, who clung close to the king's person: James begged his life with so much earnestness, that the peers relented, and granted their sovereign's boon.

The consequences of this enterprise are very puzzling to the historian. The Scottish nobility seem to have retired with the determination not to oppose the English host in arms, expecting, probably, that they would be able to settle some accommodation by means of the duke of Albany. They were as yet ignorant of the disgraceful treaty which he had made with England, and hoped to have the advantage of his talents as a regent to direct the weak councils of his brother James. In the meantime they subjected the king to a mitigated imprisonment in Edinburgh castle.

It would seem that Albany, perceiving the Scottish nobles totally indisposed to admit his claim to the kingdom, was willing enough to accept the proposal of becoming lieutenant-general. That he might do so with the better grace, Albany and the duke of Gloucester interceded with the Scottish lords for the liberation of the king. The nobles addressed the duke of Albany with much respect, and agreed to grant whatever he desired, acknowledging him to be, after James's children, the nearest of blood to the royal family. "But for that person who accompanies you," they continued, in allusion to the English prince, "we know nothing of him whatever, or by what right he presumes to talk to us upon our national affairs, and will pay no deference to his wishes, seeing he is entitled to none."

The English, however, gained one important advantage upon this occasion. The town of Berwick, which had been delivered up to the Scots by Henry VI., and possessed by them for nearly twenty years, was now taken by the troops of Richard of Gloucester, and the castle being also yielded, this strong fortress and valuable sea-port never afterwards returned to the domi-

nion of Scotland. In other respects the English sought no national advantage by the pacification.

James was in this manner restored to his liberty, and, either from fickleness of temper or profound dissimulation, appeared for a time to be so much attached to Albany, that he could not be separated from him for a moment. The concord of the royal brethren showed itself by some demonstrations which would seem strange at the present day. They rode together, on one occasion, mounted on the same horse, from the castle of Edinburgh, along the principal street, down to the abbey of Holyrood, to the great joy and delectation of all good subjects. Every night, also, the king and Albany partook the same bed.

But this fraternal concord, which must have had from the beginning its source in a degree of affection, did not long continue; and the predominant disposition of each prince disconcerted their union. The ambition of Albany would have alarmed the fears of a less timorous or suspicious man than James. It appears too plainly that the duke resumed his treasonable practices with the court of England, and it would seem that his intrigues were discovered, and that the greater part of the Scottish nobles, incensed at his perfidy, joined in expelling him from the government. Doom of forfeiture was pronounced against Albany, and he fled to England, having first, as the last act of treachery in his power, delivered up his castle of Dunbar to an English garrison, and thus, in so far as in him lay, exposed the frontiers of which he was the warden. The next year witnessed the battle of Lochmaben, the event of a foray undertaken by Douglas and Albany into Annandale, in which Douglas was made prisoner, and Albany obliged to fly for his life. (See page 304.)

Richard III. had now begun his brief and precarious reign. A short negotiation speedily arranged a truce with Scotland, which might have had some endurance if the monarchs who made it had remained steady on their thrones. But James, when he felt himself uncontrolled

in his sovereignty, used it, as his inclinations determined him, in founding expensive establishments for the cultivation of music, and in the erection of chapels and palaces in a peculiar species of architecture, in which the Gothic style was mingled with an imitation of the Grecian orders. To meet the expense of these buildings and foundations, and to gratify his natural love of amassing treasure, James watched and availed himself of every opportunity by which he could collect money; nor did he hesitate to appropriate to these favourite purposes funds which the haughty nobles were disposed to consider as perquisites of their own. A particular instance of this nature hurried on James's catastrophe.

In order to maintain the expenses of a double choir in the royal chapel of Stirling, the king ventured to apply to that purpose the revenues of the priory of Coldingham. The two powerful families of Home and Hepburn had long accounted this wealthy abbey their own property, insomuch that they expected that the king would not have violated or interfered with a family compact, by which they had agreed that the prior of Coldingham should be alternately chosen from their respective names. The king's appropriation of the revenues which they had considered as destined to the advantage of their friends and clansmen disposed these haughty chiefs to seek revenge as men who were suffering oppression. The spirit of discontent spread fast among the southern barons, much influenced by the earl of Angus, a nobleman both hated and feared by the king, who could not be supposed to have forgotten the manner in which he had acquired his popular epithet of Bell-the-Cat. In the vain hope of controlling his discontented nobles, the king showed his fears more than his wisdom by prohibiting them to appear at court in arms, with the exception of Ramsay, whose life had been spared upon his entreaty at the execution of Lauderbridge. James had made this young man captain of his guard, and created him a peer, by the name of lord Bothwell, under which title the new favourite had succeeded.

if not to the whole power, at least to much of the unpularity of Cochrane, whose fate he had so nearly shared. A league was now formed against James, which was daily increased by fresh adherents till it ended in a rebellion which could be compared to no similar insurrection in Scottish history save that of the Douglas in the preceding reign.

The fate of James III. was not yet determined, notwithstanding this powerful combination. He had on his side the northern barons, and was at least as powerful as his father had been at the siege of Abercorn. But he had not his father's courage, or the sage counsels of bishop Kennedy. His wife, Margaret of Denmark, who, 1487,

there is reason to think, had been a wise adviser as well as a most excellent spouse, died at a critical period for her husband. Thus destitute of wise counsel, the king was advised (probably by Ramsay) to arrest suddenly the nobles concerned in the conspiracy. Unfortunately for the issue of this scheme, the king was unwise enough to admit Angus to knowledge of his intentions. The earl instantly betrayed them to the malcontents, who, instead of attending the king's summons to court, withdrew to the southward, and raised their banners in open insurrection. James, unnerved by his fears, repaired to the more northern regions, in which the strength of his adherents lay, and by the assistance of Athole, Crawford, Lindsay of the Byres, Ruthven, and other powerful chiefs of the east and north, assembled a considerable army. The insurgent lords advanced to the southern shores of the Forth.

During some indecisive skirmishes, and equally indecisive negotiations, the associated nobles contrived to get into their hands the king's eldest son, by the treachery of Shaw of Sauchie, his governor. This gave a colour to their enterprise which was of itself almost decisive of success. They erected the royal standard of Scotland in opposition to its monarch, and boldly proclaimed that they were in arms in behalf of the youthful prince, whose unnatural father intended to put him to death,

and to sell the country to the English. These were exaggerated calumnies ; but it may be observed, that the populace are more easily imposed upon by falsehoods suited to the grossness of their intellects than by such arguments as are consonant to reason. The king stood so low in public estimation, on account of his love of money and his disposition to favouritism, that nothing could be invented respecting him so base that it would not find credence among his subjects.

The king retired upon Stirling ; but the faithless Shaw, who had betrayed the prince to the rebel lords, completed his treachery by refusing James access to the castle of that town. In a species of despair, the king turned southward, like a stag brought to bay, with the purpose of meeting his enemies in conflict. The battle took place not far from Falkirk, where Wallace was defeated, and yet nearer to the memorable field of Bannockburn, where Bruce triumphed. At the first encounter the archers of the king's army had some advantage. But the Annandale men, whose spears were of unusual length, charged, according to their custom, with loud yells, and bore down the left wing of the king's forces. James, who was already dispirited from seeing his own banner and his own son brought in arms against him, and who remembered the prophecy of the witch, that he should fall by his nearest of kin, on hearing the cries of the bordermen lost courage entirely, and turned his horse for flight. As he fled at a gallop through the hamlet of Milltown, his charger, a fiery animal, presented to him on that very morning by Lindesay of the Byres, took fright at the sight of a woman engaged in drawing water at a well, and threw to the ground his timid and inexperienced rider. The king was borne into the mill, where he was so incautious as to proclaim his name and quality. The consequence was, that some of the rebels who followed the chase entered the hut, and stabbed him to the heart. The persons of the murderers were never known, nor was the king's body ever found.

Thus fell a king, of whom, but for the dark suspicions

tion so anomalous. He was a stout old soldier, bred in the wars of France, and knew no better answer to make to the indictment than by offering to fight with his accusers, venturing his own person against any two of them. The lord chancellor apologised to the king for the veteran's rudeness, the natural consequence of a military education, and advised lord Lindesay to submit himself to the king's pleasure, who he ventured to say would be gracious to him. There stood near the lord Lindesay his younger brother Patrick, who understanding it was the wily meaning of the chancellor to obtain a submission on the part of his brother, that he might impose some mulct or penalty upon him, trode upon the lord Lindesay's foot, as an intimation to him not to plead guilty, or "come," as it was called, "into the king's will." The hint was totally lost on lord Lindesay, who was on bad terms with his brother, and happened besides to have a corn on his toe, which made him resent the treading on his foot as an injury as well as an insult, for which he fiercely rebuked his brother. But, without regard to his unreasonable anger, master Patrick knelt down, and prayed to be heard as counsel for his brother and the house of his forefathers. This could not decently be refused; and the pleader, in an exordium of some eloquence, implored those whom he addressed, that, as victors in the civil contest, they would be pleased to recollect, that they were still liable to the vicissitude of human affairs, and might themselves hereafter stand at that very bar, and implore the protection of the laws against such triumphant enemies as might happen to be in power for the time. He therefore conjured them to administer the laws impartially, as they would desire to enjoy their protection if they should need it in their own case. The chancellor assured Lindesay that his pleading should be fairly heard and decided upon. The advocate proceeded to object to the presence in court of the young king, in whose name the suit was brought, and to his retaining a seat in the judicature, in a case where he was one of the parties concerned. The parliament yielded to

rate action, had the misfortune to be himself taken, and carried into Dundee. The prisoners were restored by James IV., with a courteous message to Henry VII., now on the throne of England, assuring him that the Scots could fight by sea as well as land.

The deeply-politic views of Henry VII. were uniformly founded on a peaceful basis; and having re-established in all points the truce with Scotland, he endeavoured, by an union of the royal families, to convert that state of temporary tranquillity into a secure and lasting peace. This he proposed to effect by an union betwixt his daughter and the young Scottish king. Nor was he disgusted when he found that the prejudices of the Scots made them pause upon accepting his offer, fearful even of the most advantageous proposals when they came from the old enemies of Scotland.

Meantime years glided away in ease and tranquillity. The Scottish nobility displayed an unusual degree of concord amongst themselves; and James at once gratified his own taste and theirs by maintaining a court splendid beyond the means of Scotland, had not the royal coffers still contained a portion of the hoards of James III., now neither wasted in idle refinements of music and architecture, nor reserved to slumber in inactivity; but employed in expenses which served to connect the king with his nobles and with his people, by procuring pleasures which they could all enjoy. Unhappily, James IV. he intimated by his whole administration, had also an admiration of chivalry, which he carried to romantic excess. Nothing delighted him so much as jousts and tournaments, and trials of skill at all military weapons; and he sought personal adventures by traversing the country in disguise, and throwing himself into situations which have been recorded in the songs and traditions of the time.

It was probably by an appeal to this romantic cast in James's disposition that the Scottish king was prevailed on to take up the cause of Perkin Warbeck, the pre-

the duration of peace. An university, the second in the kingdom, that of Saint Andrew's being the first, had been erected at Glasgow in 1453, under the pious care of Turnbull, bishop of that see. A third seat of learning was now, in 1500, founded by Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen. Nor were the labours of these learned seminaries in vain: learning began to be understood, cultivated, and patronised. Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, made an excellent translation of Virgil's *Æneid*; and Dunbar, the Scottish Chaucer, appeared at court, with a power both of heroic and humorous poetry no way unworthy the bard of Woodstock. James IV., himself a poet, loved and encouraged the Muses; and from what remains of the strains of the day, it is obvious he permitted the satirists to take considerable freedoms with his own foibles, rather than their vein should be interrupted or their spirit checked by any severity of restriction. In a prince like James IV., such a licence shows an honest consciousness that his merits were sufficient to redeem his reputation, and that he could with safety soar above and neglect the petty artillery of the satirists.

The king had his father's taste for architecture, though not in its excess. He improved the palaces of Stirling and Falkland. Young and unmarried, he engaged too much in licentious pleasures. But his regard for the church was not diminished; and, after the fashion of the time, it was testified by the foundation of monasteries and other ecclesiastical establishments. James never lost a deep sense of remorse for the share which he had been caused to take in his father's defeat. He wore, by way of penance, an iron belt round his body, to which he added a certain weight every year which he lived. He also yearly dedicated part of Lent to strict retreat into some monastery, where rigid prayer, fasting, and acts of penance, were unsparingly employed to expiate the crime which afflicted the king's conscience. These dark intervals must have made a singular contrast with the busy course of James's ordinary life, which was spent in the active discharge of the administration of justice, and other kingly duties;

which she conjured James to risk but one day's march into England for her sake. At the same time, a more solid present of fourteen thousand crowns contributed something to remove the want of funds which otherwise might possibly have interfered with the projected expedition.

James's first step to gratify the queen of France was to despatch a naval force to that kingdom, from which the greater part of the fleet never returned, the consequences of the battle of Flodden having deprived the government of Scotland of the energy which ought to have been exerted for their preservation, so that the vessels rotted neglected in French harbours, or were sold at a low price to the French king.

James, however, meditated a more direct mode of assisting his ally and chastising Henry, whom he was now disposed to consider as an enemy rather than a brother-in-law. The Scottish monarch sent a herald to France, with a manifesto to be delivered to the English king, then preparing to lay siege to Tereuennec. In this species of defiance were recapitulated the capture of Barton, the murder of Kerr, the detention of a legacy bequeathed by Henry VII. to his daughter Margaret, with other grievances; and it concluded with summoning the king of England instantly to desist from the invasion of France on pain of seeing Scotland take arms in the cause of that kingdom. The English king, highly offended both at the matter of this remonstrance and the terms in which it was couched, returned an answer, in which he upbraided James with perversity, and even perjury, in having broken the perpetual peace which at his nuptials he had sworn to observe towards England; he treated with scorn Scotland's pretence of interfering in his quarrel with France, and concluded with retorting defiance.

In the meanwhile the war was already commenced. Lord Home, who held the dignity of high chamberlain of Scotland, entered England with a considerable force, burned several villages, and collected much prey. It was not, however, his destiny to carry his booty safe into Scotland. In marching heedlessly through the extensive flat north of Wooler, called Millfield-plain, the

James entered England with as gallant an army as Angus ever was led by a Scottish monarch; and the castle of 22.

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Etal and Ford were successively taken. In the latter fortress James made captive a lady, the wife of Heron of Ford, lord of the manor, who acquired so much influence over the amorous monarch as to detain him from the prosecution of his enterprise, while his army dwindled away, owing to the impatience of inaction in some, and diminished to thirty thousand men, when James was aroused from his amorous dalliance by the approach of the earl of Surrey at the head of a large force to defend the English frontiers. A herald brought a defiance to the monarch, in which the English lord stated that he was come to vindicate the death of Barton, and challenged the king of Scotland to combat. James's insane spirit of chivalry induced him to accept this romantic proposal, in spite of the remonstrances of his best counsellors, and, among others, of the old earl of Angus, called Bell-the-Cat. "If you are afraid, Angus," said the king coldly, in reply to his arguments, "you may go home." Angus would not abide in the camp after such an affront: he departed with tears of anger and sorrow, leaving his two sons and his followers with charge to stand by the king to the last.

It was on the 6th of September that James, removing from the western side of the river Till, took up his camp on the hill of Flodden, which closes in the northern extremity of Millfield-plain. In this advantageous ground he had the choice to fight or maintain the defensive at his pleasure. Surrey observed the advantages of the king's position, which, being very steep on the southern side, where the eminence sinks abruptly on the plain, was, in that quarter, inaccessible to an attack. Thus situated, the English commander, finding that provisions were scarce, and the country around wasted, determined by a decisive movement to lead his army round the flank of the Scottish king's position, and place himself on the north side of Flodden-hill; thus :

division, had it not been supported by lord Dacres with the reserve of English cavalry. Their support was so timely and effectual, that the Scots were kept at bay. The Highlanders, under Crawford and Montrose, rushed down the hill with disorderly haste, and were easily routed by the two Howards. Both the Scottish earls fell. During these conflicts the king's division engaged furiously with that of the earl of Surrey, and, although overwhelmed with showers of arrows, the Scots made a most valiant defence. The earl of Bothwell with the reserve, bravely supported them, and the combat became very sanguinary. In the meanwhile sir Edward Stanley, with the men of Cheshire and Derbyshire, forming the English left wing, totally dispersed their immediate opponents, the division under Lennox and Argyle. Both these earls fell, and Stanley, pressing onward over the ground they occupied, and wheeling to his own left, placed his division in the rear of king James's broken ranks; and by an attack in that direction, seconded the efforts of Surrey, who was engaged with the Scottish army in front. But these broken and bleeding battalions consisted of the pride and flower of the Scottish gentry, who, throwing themselves into a circle so as to resist on all points, defended themselves with honourable desperation. No one thought of abandoning the king, who, with useless valour, fought and struggled amidst the foremost in the conflict. Night at last separated the combatants; and the Scottish, like a wounded warrior, whom his courage sustains so long as the conflict lasts, but who faints with loss of blood when it is ended, became sensible of the extent of their loss, and melted in noiseless retreat from the field of battle in which the king and his nobles had perished.

There lay slain on the fatal field of Flodden twelve Scottish earls, thirteen lords, and five eldest sons of peers — fifty chiefs, knights, and men of eminence, and about ten thousand common men. Scotland had sustained defeats in which the loss had been numerically greater, but never one in which the number of the nobles slain bore such a proportion to those of the inferior rank.

other in the light of natural enemies. In such a contest it would be idle to enquire whether either nation possessed over the other any superiority in strength of person or bravery of disposition ; advantages which nature distributes with impartiality among the children of the same soil. Different degrees of discipline, different species of arms, different habits of exercise, may be distinctly traced as the foundation of advantages occasionally observable either in the victories of the English over the Scots, or in those obtained by the inhabitants of the northern parts of the island over their southern neighbours.

The superiority of the English arose from two principal circumstances : first, the better discipline and conduct of their armies, which at an early period manœuvred with considerable art and address, for which we shall presently show some reason : and, secondly, on their unrivalled skill in the use of the long bow, the most formidable weapon of the age, which neither Scot, Frenchman, Fleming, nor Spaniard could use with the same effect as the yeomen of England. These men possessed a degree of independence and wealth altogether unknown to the same class of society in other kingdoms of Europe. They placed their pride in having the most excellent and best-constructed bows and shafts, to the formation of which great attention and nicety were necessary ; and they had attained the art of handling and using them with the greatest possible effect. Their wealth enabled them to procure weapons of the first order, and their mode of education brought the use of them to the highest pitch of perfection. Bishop Latimer says of himself that, like other children, he was trained to shoot first with a small bow suitable to his age, and afterwards with one fitted to his increasing strength ; and that consequently he acquired a degree of skill which far surpassed that of those who never handled a bow till they came to be young men. Neither was the shape of the weapon less fitted for its purpose. The bow was of considerable length and power, and the arrow, constructed with a small head of sharp steel, was formed so as to fly a great distance and with much force. On the contrary, the Highlanders were

these troops were placed under the command of a general of approved abilities, who received his orders from the king and council, presenting thus the absolute authority which is requisite to direct the movements of an army.

Besides this peculiar advantage of hiring regular troops, the wealth of England enabled her chivalry to come to the field in full panoply, mounted on horses fit for service, and composed of men at arms certainly not inferior to any which Europe could boast. She had also at command money, stores, provisions, ammunition, artillery, and all that is necessary to enable an army to take and to keep the field.

The Scottish armies, on the other hand, were composed of the ordinary inhabitants of the country, who, unless they chanced to have a few French men at arms, were destitute of any force approaching to regular soldiers. Their own men at arms were few and ill-appointed; and though they had in their armies numerous troops of hardy horses, they were too light for the actual battle. They always fought on foot, a circumstance which exposed their broad masses of spearmen still more to devastation by the English archers, who could remain at a distance and pour on them their fatal shot without encountering the brunt of their pikes. Their hosts were, indeed, nominally under command of one general; but wanted all that united force and energy acquired by a large body acting with a common purpose and under the authority of a single individual. On the contrary, they rather consisted of a number of little armies under separate chiefs, unknown to or perhaps at variance with each other, and acknowledging no common head save the king, who was not always fit to command in person, and to whom implicit obedience was not always rendered. These great advantages of superior address in the missiles of the period, and in superior wealth for the formation and support of armies, were particularly observable in general battles upon a large scale; which the Scots, in their impatience and poverty of means to keep the field, hazarded far more frequently than was politic, and received a succession of dr

his avaricious landlord. Numerous laws were made for repressing these evils, but in vain; the judges seldom had power, and often wanted will, to enforce them. The Scottish parliament saw the disease, and prescribed the remedy; but the difficulty lay in enforcing it.

In literature the Scots made a more equal competition with their neighbours than in other particulars. They used the same language with the English, though time had introduced a broader pronunciation.*

The Scottish parliament were so much impressed with the necessity of education, that in 1494 they passed a remarkable edict, by which each baron and substantial freeholder was enjoined, under the penalty of twenty pounds, to send his eldest son to the grammar school at six, or, at the utmost, nine years of age. Having been competently grounded in Latin, the pupils were directed to study three years in the schools of philosophy and law, to qualify themselves for occupying the situation of sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other judges in ordinary.

That this singular statute had considerable influence we cannot doubt; yet the historian Mair or Major, still continued to upbraid the nobility of his time with gross neglect of their children's education. But though a majority may have contemned literature and its pursuits, in comparison with the sports of the field or the exercises of war, there were so many who availed themselves of the opportunities of education as to leave a splendid proof of their proficiency. Dunbar, the Chaucer of Scotland, has, in his Lament for the Death of the Makers, enumerated eighteen poets, of eminence in their time, who flourished from the earlier half of the fifteenth century down to the reign of James V. Many of their poems which have been preserved attest the skill and taste of the authors; but the genius of Dunbar and Gawain Douglas alone is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance. In Latin composition, the names

* Gawain Douglas professes to write his language broad and plain, "keeping no southern but his own language," and makes an apology for using some words after the English pronunciation, which he would willingly have written purely and exclusively Scottish.

beaten, though they had lost many men, retreated to their fastnesses in safety.

The feuds of the lowland barons were not less distinguished. Robert Keith, the head of that distinguished family, besieged, in Fyvie castle, his own aunt, the wife of Lindsay of Crawford. Lindsay marched with five hundred men to her rescue. He encountered Keith at Bourtree church, in the Garioch, and defeated him with the loss of fifty men. To use a scriptural expression, every one did what seemed right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king in Scotland.

The mode by which the government endeavoured to stanch these disorders, and indirectly to get rid of the perpetrators of outrages which they dared not punish by course of justice, was equally wild and savage. A clan, or rather a confederation of clans, called the clan Chattan, were at variance with another union of tribes, called the clan Kay, or clan Quhale. Their dispute, which the king's direct authority was unable to decide, was put to the arbitrament of a combat between thirty on each side, to be fought before the king, in the North Inch of Perth, a beautiful meadow by the side of the Tay. When they mustered their forces, one of the clan Chattan was found missing; but so reckless were men then of life, that a citizen of Perth undertook to supply his place for half a mark of silver. The combat was fought with infinite fury, until the clan Quhale were cut off all but one man, who escaped by swimming the Tay. Several of the clan Chattan survived, but all severely wounded.

The weak-minded king seems to have carried on his government, such as it was, by the assistance of his brother, the earl of Fife, who had been regent in the later years of his father's reign. But his heir-apparent, David, being a youth of good abilities, handsome person, young, active, and chivalrous, was too prominent and popular to be altogether laid out of view. He may be supposed indeed to have displayed some of the follies and levities of youth which were maliciously insisted on by

his uncle, who naturally looked on him with an evil eye; yet we find the prince employed as a commissioner, along with the earl of Fife, in 1399, when they met on the borders with the duke of Lancaster, and he was shortly afterwards raised by his father, after a solemn council, to the title of duke of Rothsay. At the same time, to maintain some equality, if not an ascendancy, over his nephew, prince David's ambitious uncle Robert contrived to be promoted from being earl of Fife to duke of Albany. Under their new titles both the princes again negotiated on the English frontiers, but to little purpose; for though a foundation of a solid peace would have been acceptable to Richard II., who was then bent on his expedition to Ireland, yet the revolution of 1399 was now at hand, which hurled that sovereign from his throne, and placed there in his stead Henry IV., thus commencing the long series of injuries and wars betwixt York and Lancaster. Leaving foreign affairs for a short time, we can see that the young heir of the kingdom was for some time trusted by his father in affairs of magnitude. Nay, it is certain that he was at one time declared regent of the kingdom. But Rothsay's youth and precipitate ardour could not compete with the deep craft of Albany, who seems to have possessed the king's ear, by the habitual counsels which he exercised over him for so many years. It was easy for him to exaggerate every excess of youth, of which Rothsay might be guilty, and to stir up against the young prince the suspicions which often lodge in the bosom of an aged and incapable sovereign against a young and active successor.

It is reasonable to think that the affection of queen Annabella, who had and deserved the esteem of her husband, endeavoured to sustain her son in the last struggle between him and Albany. It was by her advice that the marriage of the young prince was determined on, and the most probable means of putting an end to his intrigues. The alliance was excellent; but Albany, not being the manager of the affair into his own hands, was contented to render it the means of injuring his rival.

honour, and stirring up the nobility to feud and faction against the prince and each other.

He publicly announced that the hand of the duke of Rothsay should, like a commodity exposed to open auction, be assigned to the daughter of that peer of Scotland who might agree to pay the largest dowry with his bride. Even this base traffic on such a subject Albany contrived to render yet more vile by the dishonest manner in which it was conducted. George earl of March proved the highest offerer on this extraordinary occasion, and having paid down a part of the proposed portion, his daughter was affianced to the duke of Rothsay. The earl of Douglas, envying the aggrandizement which the house of March must have derived from such an union, interfered, and prevailed upon Albany, who was perhaps not unwilling to mix up the nuptials of his nephew with yet more disgraceful circumstances, to break off the treaty entered into with March, and substitute an alliance with the daughter of Douglas himself. No other apology was offered to March for this breach of contract than that the marriage treaty had not been confirmed by the estates of the kingdom; and, to sum up the injustice with which he was treated, the government refused or delayed to refund the sum of money which had been advanced by him, as part of his daughter's marriage-portion. As the power of the earl of March lay on the frontiers of both kingdoms, the bonds of allegiance had never sat heavily on that great family, and a less injury than that which the present earl had received might have sufficed to have urged him into rebellion. Accordingly, he instantly entered into a secret negotiation with Henry IV., and soon afterwards took refuge in England. The acquisition of such a partisan was particularly welcome to the English sovereign at this period, as will appear from the following circumstances.

Very nearly at the precise period when Henry IV. made 1399, himself master of the crown of England, the existing truce between Scotland and that country expired; and the Scottish borderers, instigated by their restless temper,

his uncle, who naturally looked on him with an evil eye; yet we find the prince employed as a commissioner, along with the earl of Eglisburgh, in 1399, when they met on the borders with the duke of Lancaster; and he was shortly afterward raised by his father, after a solemn council, to the title of duke of Rothesay. At the same time, to maintain some equality, if not an ascendancy, over his nephew, prince David's ambitious uncle Robert contrived to be promoted from being earl of Eglisburgh to duke of Albany. Under their new titles both the princes again negotiated on the English frontiers, but to little purpose; for though a foundation of a solid peace would have been acceptable to Richard II., who was then bent on his expedition to Ireland, yet the revolution of 1399 was now at hand, which hurled that sovereign from his throne, and placed there in his stead Henry IV., thus commencing the long series of injuries and wars between York and Lancaster. Leaving foreign affairs for a short time, we can see that the young heir of the kingdom was for some time trusted by his father in affairs of magnitude. Nay, it is certain that he was at one time declared regent of the kingdom. But Rothesay's youth and precipitate ardour could not compete with the deep craft of Albany, who seems to have possessed the king's ear, by the habitual command which he exercised over him for so many years. It was easy for him to exaggerate every excess of youth of which Rothesay might be guilty, and to stir up against the young prince the suspicions which often lodge in the bosom of an aged and incapable sovereign against a young and active successor.

It is reasonable to think that the affection of queen Annabella, who had and deserved the esteem of her husband, endeavoured to sustain her son in the tacit struggle between him and Albany. It was by her advice that the most probable means of putting an end to his irregularities. The advice was excellent; but Albany, getting the management of the affair into his own hands, contrived to render it the means of injuring his nephew's

the duke of Rothsay, aided by the skill and experience of his father-in-law the earl of Douglas. Albany commanded a large army, which, according to the ancient Scottish policy, hovered at some distance from the English host. The Scots had wisely resolved upon the defensive system of war, which had so frequently saved Scotland. But they could not forbear some of the bravado of the time. The duke of Rothsay wrote to Henry, that, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was willing to rest the national quarrel upon the event of a combat of one, two, or three nobles on each side. Henry laughed at this sally of youthful vivacity, and, in answer, expressed his wonder how Rothsay should think of saving Christian blood at the expense of shedding that of the nobility, who, it was to be hoped, were Christians as well as others. Albany also would have his gasconade. He sent a herald to Henry to say, that if he would stay in his position near Edinburgh for six days, he would do battle with him to the extremity. The English king gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald, in token that he joyfully accepted the challenge. But Albany had no purpose of keeping his word; and Henry found nothing was to be won by residing in a wasted country to beleaguer an impregnable rock. He raised the siege and retired into England, where the rebellion of Owen Glendower soon after broke out. A truce of twelve months and upwards took place between the kingdoms.

In this interval a shocking example, in Scotland, proved how ambition can induce men to overleap all boundaries prescribed by the laws of God and man. We have seen the duke of Rothsay stoutly defending the castle of Edinburgh in 1400. But when the war was ended he seems to have fallen into the king his father's displeasure. The queen, who might have mediated between them, was dead. Archibald earl of Douglas was also deceased; and, notwithstanding their connection by marriage, there was mortal enmity between the prince and a second Archibald, who succeeded to that earldom.

hastened to drown in border warfare, which was his natural element, the recollection of his domestic crimes. But fortune seemed to have abandoned him, or heaven refused to countenance the accomplice of an innocent prince's most inhuman murder. From this time, notwithstanding his valour and military skill, he lost so many of his followers in each action which he fought as to merit the name of *Tinneman*, i. e. *Loose-man*.

The men of the *Merse*, influenced by the exiled earl of March, no longer showed their usual alacrity in making incursions on the border; and the earl of Douglas applied to the landholders of Lothian to discharge this military service. Their first raid was successful; but in the second they were intercepted by the earl of March and a large body both of English and his own personal followers, at a place called *West Nisbet*. *Hepburn* of *Hales*, the leader of the Scots, was slain: many noble youths of Lothian were also killed or made prisoners.

Douglas, incensed at this loss, requested and obtained a considerable force under command of Albany's son, *Murdoch* earl of *Rife*, with the earls of *Angus*, *Murray*, and *Orkney*. His own battalions augmented the force to ten thousand men, and spread plunder and devastation as far as the gates of *Newcastle*. But sir *Henry Percy* (the celebrated *Hotspur*) had assembled a numerous array, and together with his father, the earl of *Northumberland*, and their ally *March*, engaged the Scots at *Hemildon*, a hill within a mile of *Wooler*, on which *Douglas* had posted his army. *Hotspur* was about to rush with his characteristic impetuosity on the Scottish ranks, when the earl of *March*, laying hand on his bridle, advised him first to try the effects of the archery. The bowmen of England did their duty with their usual fatal certainty and celerity, and the Scottish army, drawn up on the acclivity, presented a fatal mark to their shafts. A brave knight, sir *John Swinton*, like *Gralhame* at the battle of *Thurham*, saw the disadvantage in which they were placed, and suggested a remedy. "Let us not stand here to be shot like a herd of deer," he exclaimed:

for ransom. Nor was the consent either of the king or general necessary to this kind of practice. Nevertheless, on this occasion, Henry wrote to the victorious Percy, commanding them not to admit the important prisoners made at Homildon to be ransomed or delivered without his special consent. On the other hand, he gave way by bestowing upon the earl and his son Sir Henry Percy the whole earldom of Douglas, with all the territories of that proud family. The father and son regarded the first proposition of the king as an injury; and for the second, being the grant of a martial tract of country which was yet to be conquered, they deemed in their hearts they owed the king no gratitude. At the same time they received them both with seeming satisfaction, resolved to make the conquest of the earldom of Douglas, the pretext for assembling forces, which they were determined to employ very differently.

Accordingly, in June 1503, the Percys besieged a tower named Coklawis, or Crumston, and agreed with the owner that he should surrender it not received by the regent of Scotland before Lamban. Albany upon receiving this intelligence attended his council, and asked their opinion whether the place should be relieved or no? All the counsellors, who knew the duke's poverty of spirit, conceived they were sure to meet his wishes when they recommended that the lord Crumston should be abandoned to its fate, rather than a battle should be hazarded for its preservation. The regent, well knowing the secret purpose of the Percys, whose forces were about to be directed against England, took the opportunity of saying to Peter de Kinbuck, who holds my horse yonder, "The Coklawis, were there none to follow me thither but said he, "I will keep the day of appointment before swagging a little. "By heaven and Saint Pillan," to be directed against England, took the opportunity of the secret purpose of the Percys, whose forces were about hazarded for its preservation. The regent, well knowing abandoned to its fate, rather than a battle should be when they recommended that the lord Crumston should be of spirit, conceived they were sure to meet his wishes or no? All the counsellors, who knew the duke's poverty asked their opinion whether the place should be relieved receiving this intelligence attended his council, and the regent of Scotland before Lamban. Albany upon the owner that he should surrender it not received by tower named Coklawis, or Crumston, and agreed with

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ities, till 1406, just a twelvemonth after this last misfortune. His death made no change in public affairs, and was totally unfit in the administration, which continued in the hands of Albany.

CHAP. XVII.

REGENCY OF ROBERT DUKE OF ALBANY. — EARL OF MARCH RETURNS TO HIS ALLEGIANCE. — AN HERETIC BURNED. — JEDBURGH CASTLE TAKEN: TAX PROPOSED FOR EXPENSE OF ITS DEMOLITION: THE DUKE OF ALBANY REFUSES TO CONSENT TO IT. — DONALD OF THE ISLES CLAIMS THE EARLDOM OF ROSS. — HE INVADERS THE MAINLAND. — THE EARL OF MAR OPPOSES HIM. — CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE EARL'S LIFE. — BATTLE OF THE HARLAW: ITS CONSEQUENCES. — INTRICATE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN ALBANY AND HENRY IV. — HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND. — DEATH OF THE REGENT ALBANY.

The talents of Robert duke of Albany as a statesman were not such as in any degree to counterbalance his crimes. Yet his rule was not unpopular. This was in a great measure effected by liberality, or rather by profusion, in which he indulged with less hesitation, as his gifts were at the expense of the royal revenues and authority. The clergy, who were edified by his bounties to the church, recorded his devotion in their chronicles. He connived at the excesses of power frequent among the nobility; solaced them with frequent and extravagant entertainments; and indulged all their most unreasonable wishes respecting lands and jurisdictions at the expense of the crown. An air of affability and familiarity, added to a noble presence and a splendid attendance, procured the shouts of the populace. Although timid, the regent was conscious of his own defect, and careful in concealing it. He was intelligent in public business; and when the interest of the country was identified with his own, he could pursue with expedition and eagerness the best paths for attaining it.

the use of gunpowder in mining was not yet understood, it was proposed that a tax of two pennies should be imposed on each hearth in Scotland to maintain the labourers employed in the task. The regent's love of popularity instantly displayed itself. He declared, that in his administration no burthen should be imposed on the poor, and caused the expense to be defrayed out of the royal revenue. The truce with England was afterwards renewed. In the ratification of it, Albany styled himself regent by the grace of God, and used the phrase "our subjects of Scotland," not satisfied, it would seem, with delegated authority.

In the mean time a contest of the most serious nature arose between the Celtic and the Lowland or Saxon population of Scotland.

The lords of the isles, during the utter confusion which extended through Scotland during the regency, had found it easy to reassume that independence of which they had been deprived during the vigorous reign of Robert Bruce. They possessed a fleet with which they harassed the main land at pleasure; and Donald, who now held that insular lordship, ranked himself among the allies of England, and made peace and war as an independent sovereign. The regent had taken no steps to reduce this kinglet to obedience, and would probably have shunned engaging in a task so arduous, had not Donald insisted upon pretensions to the earldom of Ross, occupying a great extent in the north-west of Scotland, including the large isle of Skye, and lying adjacent to, and connected with, his own insular dominions.

His claim stood thus:—Ruphemia countess of Ross had bestowed her hand upon Walter Lesley, who became in her right earl of Ross. They had two children,—Alexander, who succeeded his mother in the earldom, and a daughter, who was wedded to Donald of the Isles. Lesley being dead, his widow married Alexander earl of Buchan, a brother of the regent; but they had no issue. Alexander earl of Ross made a second connexion with the royal family of Stewart, by marrying

mond of Stobhill, brother of Annabella, the queen of Robert III., had been surprised in his own castle by Highland banditti, and died in their rude custody. Alexander Stewart was suspected of accession to this violence, and these suspicions were strengthened when he suddenly appeared with a body of armed Catharans before the castle of Kildrummie, the residence of Isabel, the widow of the murdered sir Malcolm Drummond, countess of Mar in her own right. The castle was stormed, and the widowed countess, whether by persuasion or force, was induced to give her hand to Alexander Stewart, the leader of the band who took her mansion, and in all probability the author of her husband's imprisonment and death. A few weeks after their marriage he conceived the lady so reconciled to her lot, that he ventured to repossess her in her castle, with the furniture, title-deeds, &c., and coming himself before the gates, humbly rendered her the keys, in token that the whole was at her disposal. The issue, which Stewart had probably been previously well assured of, was, that the lady received him kindly, and of her own free will, and the good favour which she bore to him, accepted of him as her husband, after which he took the title and assumed the power and possessions of the earldom of Mar in right of the countess Isabel. Thus exalted above his trade of a robber, Stewart showed by his subsequent conduct that there was something noble in his mind corresponding with his elevation, which, though accomplished by such violent means, was not challenged during the feeble and corrupt regency of Albany. He distinguished himself by the exercise of feats of chivalry, and engaged in many tournaments both in Scotland and England. At length his restless spirit carried him abroad in quest of fame. The earl of Mar was distinguished and honoured for his wit, virtue, and bounty, at Paris, where he kept open house. From the court of Paris the earl passed to that of Burgundy. At this time the bishop of Liege, John of Bavaria, "a clerk without the external behaviour of one," was in danger from a rebellion of his insurgent people, and the

duke of Burgundy was marching to his assistance. Finding himself in a situation where fame could be won, Mar, with a hundred Scottish lances, chiefly men of quality seeking renown and feats of battle, accompanied the duke's host. As the battle was about to join, the earl of Mar seeing two strong champions, armed with battle-axes, advanced three spears' length before the army of Liège, commanded his banner to halt, and calling to his squire, John of Ceres, to follow him, rushed on these two champions, who proved to be the leaders of the mutiny, sir Henry Horn and his son, and slew them hand to hand. He did also great actions in the battle, and highly exalted his own name and the honour of his country. On his return to Scotland, the fire of his youth having now subsided, he became a firm supporter of good order, to which his early exploits had been so hostile, maintained some regular government of the northern counties, and was the leader to whom all men looked up as likely to arrest the course of the lord of the isles. It was a singular chance, however, that brought against Donald, who might be called the king of the Gael, one whose youth had been distinguished as a leader of their plundering bands, and no less strange that the islander's claim to the earldom of Ross should be traversed by one whose title to that of Mar was so much more challengeable.

The whole lowland gentry of the Mearns and Aberdeenshire rose in arms with the earl of Mar. The town of Aberdeen sent out a gallant body of citizens under sir Robert Davidson, their provost; Ogilvy, the sheriff of Angus, brought up his own martial name and the principal gentlemen of that county. Yet when both armies met at Harlaw, near the head of the Garrioch, the army of Mar was considerably inferior to that of Donald of the Isles, under whose banner the love of arms and hope of plunder had assembled the McIntoshes and other more northern clans. Being the flower of the respective races, the Gaelic and Saxon armies joined battle with the most inveterate rage and fury. About a thousand Highlanders

was very singularly situated. His most important negotiations with that power respected the fate of two prisoners,—the one James, his nephew and prince, who had fallen, as already mentioned, into the hands of Henry IV. by a gross breach of the law of nations—the other being the regent's own son Murdach earl of Fife, taken in the battle of Homildon. Respecting these captives the views of Albany were extremely different. He was bound to make some show of a desire to have his sovereign James set at liberty, since not only the laws of common allegiance and family affection enjoined him to make an apparent exertion in his nephew's behalf, but the feudal constitutions, which imposed on the vassal the charge of ransoming his lord and superior when captive, rendered this in every point of view an inviolable obligation. At the same time his policy dictated to him to protract as long as possible the absence of the king of Scotland, with whose return his own power as regent must necessarily terminate. For the liberation of his son Murdach, on the contrary, the regent naturally was induced to interfere with all the ardour and sincerity of paternal feeling. The nature of these negotiations, especially of the first, in which the duke of Albany's professions and the tenour of his proposals must have borne an ostensible purport very different from his own wishes, naturally gave a degree of mystery and complexity to the proceedings of the regent and his intercourse with the court of England. The very manner in which James is described in these proceedings is ambiguous, and does not convey or infer the quality of heir to the Scottish crown, the power of which was for the time exercised by Albany. He is termed "the son of our late lord king Robert," which is far from necessarily implying his title of heir of Scotland, since either a natural or a younger son of the late king might have been so termed. This studied ambiguity seems to infer that Albany, whose ambition had dictated the murder of the duke of Rothsay, was desirous to clear the way to the exclusive possession of the throne, which he only occu-

pied at present as the delegate of another, whose rights, therefore, he was disposed to keep as much out of view as possible. Henry IV., whose own road to sovereignty had been by usurpation, was crafty enough to comprehend the feelings by which the duke of Albany was actuated, and took care to throw such obstructions in the way of James the first's return to his dominions as might gratify the real wishes of the regent duke of Albany, without laying him under the necessity of speaking out too plainly his desire to protract his nephew's captivity. Another and a very curious subject of diplomatic discussion subsisted between Henry IV. and the regent of Scotland.

There is a story told by Bower, or Bowmaker, the continuator of Fordun's Chronicle, which has hitherto been treated as fabulous by the more modern historians. This story bears, that Richard II., generally supposed to have been murdered at Pontefract castle, either by the "fierce hand of sir Piers of Exton," or by the slower and more cruel death of famine, did in reality make his escape by subtlety from his place of confinement; that he fled in disguise to the Scottish isles, and was recognised in the dominions of the lord of the isles by a certain fool or jester, who had been familiar in the court of England; as being no other than the dethroned king of that kingdom. Bower proceeds to state, that the person of Richard II. thus discovered was delivered up by the lord of the isles to the lord Montgomery, and by him presented to Robert III., by whom he was honourably and beseemingly maintained during all the years of that prince's life. After the death of Robert III., this Richard is stated to have been supported in magnificence, and even in royal state, by the duke of Albany, to have at length died in the castle of Stirling, and to have been interred in the church of the friars there, at the north angle of the altar. This singular legend is also attested by another contemporary historian, Winton, the prior of Lochleven. He tells the story with some slight differences, particularly that the fugitive and deposed monarch was recognised by an

Irish lady, the wife of a brother of the lord of the isles, who had seen him in Ireland—that being charged with being king Richard, he denied it—that he was placed in custody of the lord of Montgomery, and afterwards of the lord of Cumbernauld—and, finally, that he was long under the care of the regent duke of Albany. “But whether he was king or not, few,” said the chronicler of Loehleven, “knew with certainty. The mysterious personage exhibited little devotion, would seldom incline to hear mass, and bore himself like one half wild or distracted.” Serle also, yeoman of the robes to Richard, was executed because, coming from Scotland to England, he reported that Richard was alive in the latter country. This legend, of so much importance to the history of both North and South Britain, has been hitherto treated as fabulous. But the researches and industry of the latest historian of Scotland have curiously illustrated this point, and shown, from evidence collected in the original records, that this captive, called Richard II., actually lived many years in Scotland, and was supported at the public expense of that country.*

It is then now clear, that, to counterbalance the advantage which Henry IV. possessed over the regent of Scotland by having in his custody the person of James, and consequently the power of putting an end to the delegated government of Albany whenever he should think fit to set the young king at liberty; Albany, on his side, had in his keeping the person of Richard II., or of some one strongly resembling him, a prisoner whose captivity was not of less importance to the tranquillity of Henry IV., who at no period possessed his usurped throne in such security as to view with indifference a real or pretended resuscitation of the deposed Richard.

It would be too tedious, were it possible, for us to trace distinctly the complicated negotiations between the king and regent. Each conscious of possessing an advantage

* The evidence of this very interesting fact will appear in the third volume of his History of Scotland, which will probably be before the public ere these sheets go through the press. Like the tenour of the work in general, it reflects the highest honour on Mr. Tytler's talents and industry.

over the other, and at the same time feeling a corresponding incumbrance on his own part, endeavoured, like a skilful wrestler, to take advantage of the hold which he possessed over his adversary, while at the same time he felt the risk of himself receiving the fall which he designed to give to his opponent. These two crafty persons, standing in this singular relation to each other, and each conscious of defects in his own title, negotiated constantly, without being able to bring their treaties either to a final close or an open rupture.

The death of Henry IV. and the accession of Henry V. did not greatly alter the situation of the two countries, but was so far of advantage to Albany, that he obtained the liberation of his son Murdach earl of Fife, in exchange for the young earl of Northumberland, the son of the celebrated Hotspur. This youth had been sent into Scotland by his grandfather for safety, when about to display his banner against Henry IV. of England. Whatever benefit the captive monarch of Scotland might have gained by such a hostage as the young Percy being lodged in the hands of his subjects was lost to him by the regent accomplishing the exchange between the earl of Northumberland and his own son.

In 1417, while Henry V. was engaged in France, the regent Albany, supposing that the greater part of the English forces were over seas, gathered a large force, and besieged at once both Roxburgh castle and the town of Berwick. A much superior army of English advanced under the dukes of Exeter and Bedford, and compelled the regent of Scotland to raise both the sieges, with much loss of reputation, as the Scots bestowed on his ill-advised enterprise the name of the *foul raid*, that is, the dishonourable inroad.

The war, which seemed for some time to languish, received some interest from a daring exploit of Halyburton of Fastcastle, who surprised the castle of Wark, situated upon the Tweed. Robert Ogle, however, recovered it for the English, by taking Halyburton by sur-

of the crown, and not less for the good fortune which attended his success, on whatever side it was displayed.

More to the state of Albany, such as we have described heretofore, in the space of five years nearly of exercising a sole administration, which was popular with no man, over a thoroughly empty, wasted by pestilence, and divided by the feuds of the nobility. He determined to rid himself of the responsibility of the regency, although he must have been internally conscious that such a power, though difficult and unwise to wield, could not be resigned with any safety. It was, perhaps, a sense of the peril to which he might be exposed, if called by the king to undertake for many years of misrule, his father's as well as his own, which made him suspend his resolution till 1425, when his decision is said by tradition to have been prompted by an act of insolent insubordination on the part of Walter, his eldest son. The regent Murdach had a falcon which he highly valued, and which his son Walter had often asked of him in vain. Exasperated at repeated refusal, the insolent young man snatched the bird as it sat on his father's wrist, and killed it by twisting round its neck. Deeply hurt at this brutal act of disrespect, Murdach dropped the ominous words, "Since you will render me no honour or obedience, I will bring home one who well knows how to make all of us obey him." From this time he threw into the long-protracted negotiation for the freedom of James a sincerity which speedily brought it to a conclusion.

Henry V. being now dead, John duke of Bedford, protector of England, was defending with much skill and prudence the acquisitions which his brother's valour had made in France. Occupied with this task, he was willing to use a liberal policy towards Scotland; to restore their lawful king, so long unjustly detained; having formed, if possible, such an alliance betwixt him and some English lady of rank as might maintain in the young monarch's mind the feelings of predilection towards England which were the natural consequence of a long residence in that country and familiarity with

of Buchan struck him down with a mace, and slew him. Many brave English knights were slain: the earl of Kent, the lords Grey and Ross, with fourteen hundred men at arms, were left on the field. The earls of Huntingdon and Somerset were made prisoners.

In reward of such distinguished service, the dauphin, now king of France by the title of Charles VII., created Buchan high constable of France, and conferred upon Stewart of Darnley the lordship of Aubigny in France. Desirous of increasing the forces by which he had acquired so much fame and honour, the earl of Buchan returned to Scotland to obtain recruits. He found that his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas, with the licence assumed by men of far less importance than himself during the feeble government of the regency, was then engaged in a treaty with Henry V. of England, whom he was to serve with two hundred horse and as many infantry, for the stipend of two hundred pounds a year. The influence of Buchan disturbed this agreement; and Douglas, who seems to have conducted himself during the whole matter like an independent prince, instead of joining the English, accepted of the duchy of Touraine, offered to him on the part of Charles VII. of France, and engaged to bring to his aid an auxiliary force of five thousand men.

1424. He came accordingly; but the bad fortune which procured him the name of Tineman (Lose-man) continued to wait on his banners. The Scots sustained a severe defeat at Crevan. They had formed the blockade of that place; but were surprised by the earl of Salisbury, who raised the siege, by defeating them with a slaughter of nine hundred men.

A battle yet more fatal to the Scots took place near the town of Verneuil, 17th August, 1424. It was a general action, risked by the king of France for the relief of Yvry, besieged by the English. The duke of Bedford, who commanded the English, and whom Douglas had called in derision John with the leaden sword, advanced to meet the enemy, and sent a herald to inform the Scottish earl

he was coming to drink wine and revel with him. The earl of Douglas returned for answer, he should be most welcome, and that he had come from Scotland to France on purpose to carouse in his company. Under these terms a challenge to combat was understood to be given and accepted. Douglas, desirous to draw up his forces on advantageous ground, proposed to halt, and to await the English attack on the spot where the herald found him. The viscount of Narbonne, the French general, insisted on advancing: the Scots were compelled to follow their allies, and came into battle out of breath and out of order. The consequences were most calamitous; Douglas and Buchan fell, and with them most of their countrymen of rank and quality, so that the auxiliary army of Scots might be considered as almost annihilated. The corps of Scots, long maintained as the French king's bodyguard, is said to have been originally composed of the relics of the field of Verneuil. And thus concluded the wars of the Scots in France, fortunate that the nation was cured, though by a most bitter remedy, of the fatal rage of selling their swords and their blood as mercenaries in foreign service; a practice which drains a people of the best and bravest, who ought to reserve their courage for its defence, and converts them into common gladiators, whose purchased valour is without fame to themselves or advantage to their country. Individuals frequently continued to join the French standard, in quest of fame or preferment; but, after the battle of Verneuil, no considerable army or body of troops from Scotland was sent over to France.

We return, after this digression, to consider the condition of Scotland, now more hopeful than it had been for a length of time, since she was about to exchange the rule of a slothful, timid, and inefficient regent for that of a king in the flower of his age, and possessed of a natural disposition and cultivated talents equally capable to grace and to guard the throne.

The terms on which the treaty for the freedom of

James I. was at last fixed were, on the whole, liberal rather than otherwise. The English demanded, and the Scots agreed to pay, forty thousand pounds sterling — not as *ransom*, as the use of that obnoxious phrase could not apply to the case of an innocent boy taken without defence in time of truce, but to defray what was delicately termed the expenses of prince James's support and education. Six years were allowed for the discharge of the sum by half-yearly payments. It was a part of the contract, that the Scottish king should marry an English lady of rank ; and his choice fell upon Joanna, niece of Richard II., by the mother's side, and by her father, John duke of Somerset, the grand-daughter of the duke of Lancaster, called John of Gaunt. To this young lady, so nearly connected with the English royal family, the Scottish captive had been attached for some time, and had celebrated her charms in poetry of no mean order, although defaced by the rudeness of the obsolete language. They were married in London ; and a discharge for ten thousand pounds, the fourth part of the stipulated ransom, was presented to the Scottish king as the dowery or portion of his bride. The royal pair were then sent down to Scotland with all respect and dignity, and Murdach, the late regent, had the honour to induct his royal cousin into the throne of his forefathers.

The natural talents of James I., both mental and corporeal, were of the highest quality ; and if Henry IV. had taken an unjust and cruel advantage of the accident which threw the prince into his hands, by detaining him as a prisoner, he had made the only possible amends, by causing the most sedulous attention to be paid to his education. In person, the king of Scotland was of low stature ; but so strongly and compactly built as to excel in the games of chivalry, and all the active accomplishments of the time. He was no less distinguished by mental gifts, highly cultivated by the best teachers that England could produce. He was, according to the learning of the day, an accomplished scholar, an excellent poet,

a musician of skill, intimately acquainted with the science as practised in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, which are described as being then the principal seats of national music *, with a decided taste for the fine arts of architecture, painting, and horticulture. Nothing, therefore, could be more favourable than his personal character. As a prince, his education in England had taught him political views which he could hardly have learned in his own rude and ignorant realm. His ardent thirst of knowledge made the acquisition of every species of art fit to be learned by persons of his condition not only tolerable, however laborious, but a source of actual pleasure. He found Scotland in the utmost disorder, and divided amongst a set of haughty barons, whom the wars of David II.'s reign, the feebleness of those of his two successors, and the culpable indulgence of two regencies, had rendered almost independent of the crown. To curb and subdue this stern aristocracy, and to secure general good order, by re-establishing the legitimate authority of the crown, was a difficult and most dangerous task ; but James embarked and persevered in it with a courage which amounted almost to rashness.

Among various laws for the equal administration of justice, for obliging the nobility to ride with retinues no larger than they could maintain, for discontinuing the oppressive exaction of free quarters, and for requiring that the Scottish youth should be trained to archery, there were two measures adopted by James which were highly unpopular. The first was an enquiry into the extent of the crown lands under the last three monarchs. The object of this was to examine into the dilapidation made of the crown property during the reigns of Robert the second and third, and the two regencies of the house of Albany. But by these preparations to re-assert the right of the king to the lands which had been alienated by weak monarchs and unfaithful viceroys, James

* The Irish were said to excel in two instruments, the harp and the tabor ; the Scottish in three, the harp, the tabor, and the *chorus* (*i. e.* the *cor* or horn) ; the Welsh also delighted in three kinds of music, that of the pipes, the harp, and the chorus or horn.

excited among the people at large doubts and jealousies concerning the stability of property, which gave rise to general dissatisfaction. With these was combined the imposition of a large subsidy for raising the sum due to England by the late treaty, of which it is only necessary to say that it was a tax, and was therefore unpopular; and the more so, as it fell on a poor country.

The records of this reign being almost entirely lost, we do not know by what means further than his own consciousness of talents, and the command over others which such consciousness necessarily inspires, the young king was able to enforce his authority in a kingdom where a large party were leagued together by mutual interest to support the usurpations which had been made on the crown during the space of more than twenty years, in which time wrongful enroachment had attained by prescription the appearance of lawful right. We are only aware that James had not been on the throne a full year ere he began to visit on the house of Albany the wrongs he had sustained during his long imprisonment, protracted through their means, and the dilapidation and usurpation exercised by them, their favourites and allies, over the rights and possessions of the crown.

Walter, the son of duke Murdach, whose brutal insolence to his father had suggested to the old man the idea of bringing home the lawful heir, or at least had decided him to adopt that measure so much fraught with hazard to his family, was laid under arrest shortly after the king's return. The earl of Lennox, father-in-law to duke Murdach, and sir Robert Grahame, a man of peculiarly fierce and daring temper, were next made prisoners. But on the 12th March, 1425, the king found himself, by whatever means, powerful enough to arrest, during the sitting of a parliament at Perth, Murdach, the late regent, his second son Alexander, the earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, with twenty other persons of the highest rank, among whom are the formidable names of Alexander Lyndsay of Glenesk, Hep-

burn of Hales, Hay of Yester, Walter Halyburton, Walter Ogilvy, Stewart of Rosyth, Alexander of Seton-Gordon, Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, John the Red Stewart of Dundonald, David Murray of Gask, Hay of Errol constable of Scotland, Scrimgeour the constable of Dundee, Irving of Drum, Herbert Maxwell of Carlaverock, Herbert Herries of Terreagles, Gray of Foulis, Cunninghame of Kilmauris, Ramsey of Dalwolsey, Crichton of Crichton.

In perusing this list of ancient and powerful names we are alike surprised to see so many barons, whose estates and interests lay separated over various parts of Scotland, involved in the same general accusation, and at the courage of the sovereign, who dared to apply the rigour of law to such a number of his powerful subjects at the same time. The prisoners were probably selected as the principal allies of the Albany family, or perhaps as those who, having shared most deeply in the spoils distributed during the regencies, might be most tempted to defend its usurpations. The specific charge against the imprisoned barons was probably their having evaded compliance with the royal command to exhibit their titles to their lands. But though so many were included, it was at the family of Albany only that vengeance was aimed. The blow was struck so suddenly, that the only one of the devoted family who had time to take precaution for his safety or offer resistance was James Stewart, the youngest son of duke Murdach. He made his escape to the west of Scotland, returned by a sudden incursion, burned Dunbarton, and slew the king's uncle, the Red Stewart of Dundonald; but, closely pressed by the king's command, was obliged to fly to Ireland.

Murdach and his two sons, with their grandfather by the mother's side, the earl of Lennox, were brought to trial under cognisance of an assize or jury of nobles, in which the allies and supporters of the king were mingled with the favourers and allies of the house of Albany in such a proportion as to give an appearance of impartiality to the trial, though the party of royalists

gerated in the eyes of such as conceived that the monarch had the selfish prospect of repairing the royal revenue by the forfeiture of the estates of these wealthy criminals.

Perhaps, like many reformers, this excellent prince, for such he must certainly be esteemed, fell into an error common to those who, seeing acutely the extent of a rooted evil, attempt too hastily and too violently to remedy it by instant eradication. It is in the political world as in the human frame; dislocations which have been of long standing, and to which the neighbouring parts of the system have accommodated themselves, cannot be brought back to their proper state without time, patience, and gentleness. It is true, the long course of licence permitted by the loose government of the house of Albany had subjected many hundreds, nay, thousands of individuals to the penalties of the law; but it cannot escape notice, that while a few severe examples are in such a case necessary for the purpose of impressing a respect for justice, the extending capital punishments to a large circle disgusts the public mind, assumes the form of vengeance rather than legal severity, and procures for malefactors an interest in their fate capable of altogether destroying the great purpose of punishment, by causing men to hate instead of respecting its motives. If, as historians affirm, James I. actually adjudged to death, within the first two years of his reign, the number of three thousand of his subjects, for offences committed during his imprisonment in England, he certainly merited that the reproof used by Mæcenas to Augustus,—“surge tandem carnifex!”—ought to have interrupted his judicial butchery.

James I. might be more easily justified in teaching, even by strict examples of severity, the respect due to the royal person, the source of law and justice, which had fallen into contempt during the feeble regency of duke Murdach, than in prosecution of acts of treason committed when there was no king in the land. We have the following instance of his strictness on such

others, were beheaded for acts of robbery and oppression; and to render his justice impartial, James Campbell was hanged for the murder of John, a former lord of the isles.

In the midst of these examples of punishment, James was clement in his treatment of Alexander of the isles, the successor of Donald, who was worsted at the Harlaw, and only remonstrating with him upon the necessity of his discontinuing his family habits of lawless turbulence, he dismissed him upon his promise to abstain from such in future. His mother was detained as a hostage for his faith. Alexander, however, no sooner returned to his own territories than he raised his banner, and collected a host from the isles and Highland mainland to the amount of ten thousand men, with which he invaded the continent, and burnt the town of Inverness, where he had lately sustained the affront of an arrest. King James assembled an army and hastened northward, where his prompt arrival alarmed the invaders. Two powerful tribes, the clan Chattan and clan Cameron, deserted the lord of the isles, and ranged themselves under the royal banner. Weakened and dispirited, the Highland forces sustained a severe defeat, and the lord of the isles humbled himself to ask peace and forgiveness. It was not, however, granted, till he had performed a feudal penance for his breach of allegiance. On the eve of saint Augustine's festival, he appeared in full congregation, before the high altar of Holyrood church, at Edinburgh, attired only in his shirt and drawers, and there upon his knees presented the hilt of his naked sword to the king, he himself holding it by the point. In this attitude of submission the island chief humbly confessed his offences, and deprecated their deserved punishment. The capital penalty, which he had deservedly incurred, was exchanged for a long imprisonment in Tantallon castle.

The captivity of the lord of the isles did not prevent further disturbance from these unruly people.— Choosing for chieftain Donald, . . . , Loch or the Freckled, the cousin-german of . . . , lord.

treasonable practices which had distinguished his family in former generations, or whether he was only guilty of possessing the power to be dangerous, we cannot well discern; but he was confined to the castle of Edinburgh as a prisoner, and his castle of Dunbar, being taken possession of by the king, was placed in the keeping of Adam Hepburn of Hales. The legal reasons assigned were, that the forfeiture of the earldom of March having been decreed, on account of the repeated treasons of George earl of March, the power of the regent duke of Albany was insufficient to disjoin them from the crown, to which they had been united, and to confer them on the son of the traitor. It was not, however, the purpose of the king to act with rigour or injustice towards the present earl, even in depriving him of possessions which afforded him a power liable to be abused. He closed the transaction by instantly conferring on the late earl of March the earldom of Buchan, which, by the death of the gallant high constable of France at the battle of Verneuil, already mentioned, had reverted to the crown. By this policy James hoped to convert a powerful family, from fickle and uncertain borderers, into more faithful inland vassals.

Almost all the proceedings of James I. were directed to the same general end—that of diminishing the power of the nobles, which occasioned the discords in the state, and the general oppression of the subjects, and proportionally augmenting and extending the influence of the crown. This comprehended, indeed, the selfish purpose of elevating the king himself to a more absolute superiority in the state: but as, in that stage of society, the royal authority was the best means by which the general peace and good order of the country at large could be preserved, James may be considered as having pursued his favourite object with humane and patriotic views, directed more to the benefit of Scotland than his own aggrandizement.

By an act of parliament prohibiting all bonds and leagues, by which the nobility used to bind themselves

neglected and contemned by her husband, one of the most malignant men who ever lived. She was basely calumniated also and slandered by his unworthy courtiers, and appears to have felt the imputed ignominy so sensitively, that the acuteness of her feelings at length cost the princess her life.

As the affairs of the English were declining in France, from the enthusiasm universally awakened by the appearance of the maid of Orleans on the scene, an English ambassador was sent to Scotland, in the person of lord Scroope, with instructions to gain James, if possible, from his French alliance. England proposed terms which had not been lately named in negotiation between the countries. The offers were a sure and perpetual peace, with the restitution to Scotland of the castle of Roxburgh, the town of Berwick, together with Cumberland and Westmorland, as far southward as Rere Cross on Stanmoor. The Scottish historians say, that the English were not sincere in these proposals. If they were, James could not have entertained them without a formal breach of his treaty with France. The clergy interfered to support this obstacle, with the important additional objection, that the contract with France had obtained an irrefragable, and in some degree sacred character by its having received the sanction of the pope, and therefore could not be infringed without a high crime. In the course of the scholastic discussion which arose on the question, What effect the approbation of the Roman pontiff conferred on a contract solemnly entered into betwixt two independent monarchs? the disputants lost sight of the English propositions, the most honourable which Scotland had received from her proud neighbour since the arms of Bruce extorted from her the treaty of Northampton, and the negotiation fell to the ground.

It may be easily conceived, that the unwonted boldness with which James carried on his favourite measures, — resuming grants made in favour of the most powerful nobles, — altering at his will the seat of their power, as in the case of the earl of March, — interfering with and

controlling their jurisdiction over their vassals,—at times imprisoning the most powerful of them, as he did the earl of Douglas, his own nephew,—and substituting the authority of the crown for that of the vassals, by whose greatness it had been eclipsed,—was regarded with very different feelings by two classes of his subjects. With the great mass of the nation James was popular; for the people felt the protection arising from the power of the crown, which could seldom have any temptation to oppress those in middle life, and willingly took refuge under it to escape from the subordinate tyranny of the numerous barons, whose castles crowned every cliff, and for whose rapacity or violence no object was too inconsiderable. It was different with the nobility, who felt acutely that, as the king's importance arose in the national scale, their own was gradually sinking. They regarded the quantity of blood which had been shed by James's command less as a sacrifice to justice, than as the means by which the sovereign indulged his rapacity after forfeitures, and what they alleged to be his vindictive hatred to the nobility. Many of the victims who had suffered the penalties of the law were related to honourable houses; and it was a point of honour, and almost of conscience, with their kindred to watch for the opportunity to revenge their death. There was, therefore, a great party among the nobility who regarded James with fear and hatred, and who only wanted an opportunity to give deadly proof of the character of their feelings towards him.

The approach of war gave these evil sentiments an opportunity to display themselves. Sir Robert Ogle, an English borderer of distinction, in breach of a truce which had continued uninterrupted since king James's accession
35. to the Scottish throne, made an incursion on the borders, and did some mischief; but was encountered by the earl of Angus near Piperden, defeated, and made prisoner. In
36. resentment of this violence, and of an attempt on the part of the English to intercept the Scottish princess Margaret on her way to France, James declared war against Eng-

land. He besieged Roxburgh castle with the whole array of his kingdom, which was said to amount to a tumultuary multitude of nearly two hundred thousand men. After remaining fifteen days before Roxburgh, the king suddenly raised the siege and dismissed his array, upon surmise, as has been supposed, of treason in his host. That there were such practices is highly probable; and a Scottish encampment, filled with feudal levies, each man under the banner of the noble to whom he owed service, was no safe residence for a monarch who was on bad terms with his aristocracy.

After dismissal of his army, James I. met his parliament at Edinburgh, and employed himself and them in making several regulations for commerce, and for the impartial administration of justice. In the meantime the period of this active and good prince's labours was speedily approaching.

The chief author of his fate was sir Robert Grahame, uncle to the earl of Stratherne. James, with his usual view of unfixing and gradually undermining the high power of the nobility, resumed the earldom of Stratherne, and obliged the young earl to accept of the earldom of Monteith in lieu of it. This seems to have irritated the haughty spirit of the earl's uncle sir Robert, who was likewise exasperated by having sustained a personal arrest and imprisonment, along with other men of rank, on the king's return in 1425. Entertaining these causes of personal dislike against his sovereign, Grahame, in the parliament of 1429, undertook to represent to the king the grievances of the nobility: but, instead of doing so with respect and moderation, this fierce and haughty man worked himself into such extremity of passion as to make offer to arrest the monarch in name of the estates of parliament. As no one dared to support him in an attempt so arrogant, Grahame was seized, and, finally, his possessions were declared forfeited, and he himself ordered into banishment.

He retired to the recesses of the Highlands, vowing revenge, and had the boldness to send forth from his

lurking place a written defiance, in which he renounced the king's allegiance, and declared himself his mortal enemy. On this new proof of audacity, a reward was offered to *any one who should bring in the person of sir Robert Grahame dead or alive*. On this a conspiracy took place, the event of which was terrible, although we can but ill trace the motives of some of the party.

The ostensible head of the conspirators was the king's own unele, Walter earl of Athole, son of Robert the third, by his second marriage. This ambitious old man was not prevented by his near alliance with the crown from plotting against his royal nephew's life, with the purpose of placing on the throne sir Robert Stewart, his own grandson, who on his part, though favoured by the king, and holding the confidential situation of chamberlain, did not hesitate to enter into so nefarious a conspiracy. The event proved that the conspirators had formed their plan for assassinating their prince with too much accuracy. But the hopes upon which Athole and his grandson founded the subsequent part of their plot seem to have been vague and uncertain to an extravagant degree, inducing us to believe, that, like other heated and fiery spirits in similar situations, those engaged in the bloody design must have worked themselves into the belief that the feelings of hatred towards James which animated their own bosoms were also nourished by the greater part of the community; a species of self-delusion common amongst men who engage in such desperate enterprises.

The removal of the court to Perth, where James proposed to hold his Christmas, facilitated the conspirators' enterprise, by making a sudden descent from the Highlands, a short expedition. About the 21st of February, the king, after having entertained his treacherous uncle of Athole at supper, was about to retire to rest in the Dominican monastery, which was the royal residence for the time, when it was suddenly entered by a body of three hundred men, whose admittance had been facilitated by sir Robert Stewart, the faithless chamberlain. There is a tradition that a young lady in attendance on the queen,

named Katharine Douglas, endeavoured to supply the want of a bar to the door of the royal apartment by thrusting her own arm across the staples. This slender obstacle was soon overcome. So much time had, however, been gained, that the queen and her ladies had found means to let down the king into a vault beneath the apartment, from which he might have made his escape, had not an entrance from the sewer to the court of the monastery been built up by his own order a day or two before, because his balls, as he played at tennis, were lost by entering the vault. Still, notwithstanding this obstacle, the king might have escaped, for the assassins left the apartment without finding out his place of retreat, and, having in their brutal fury wounded the queen, dispersed to seek for James in the other chambers. Unhappily, before either the conspirators had withdrawn from the palace, or assistance had arrived, the king endeavoured, by the help of the ladies, to escape from the vault, and some of the villains returning, detected him in the attempt. Two brothers, named Hall, then descending into the vault, fell fiercely upon James with their daggers; when young, active, and fighting for his life, the king threw them down, and trode them under foot. But while he was struggling with the traitors, and cutting his hands in an attempt to wrench their daggers from them, the principal conspirator, Grahame, came to the assistance of his associates, and the king died by many wounds. Thus fell James I., a prince of distinguished talents and virtue, too deep in political speculation, perhaps, for the period in which he lived, too hasty and eager in carrying his meditated reformation into execution, and too rigorous in punishing crimes which were rather the fruit of tempting opportunity, and of the general licence of a disorderly period, than the deliberate offspring of individual guilt.

The alarm was given at last, and the attendants of the court and domestics began to gather to the palace, from which the assassins made their escape to the Highlands, not without loss.

The queen James urged the pursuit of the murderers with a zeal to console the widow of such a husband. She had engaged her husband's political confidence as well as his domestic affection. In the parliament of 1555, the king, ignorant, perhaps, with a presentiment that his public-spirited measure might expose him to assassination, caused the members of the estates to give written assurances of their fidelity to the queen. Upon this trying occasion they redeemed their pledge, and a close and general pursuit after the murderers took place. In the space of a month they were all apprehended in their various lurking-places. Athole's grandson, sir Robert Stewart, was executed at Edinburgh with refined tortures, in the midst of which he avowed his guilt. The aged earl admitted that his grandson had proposed such a conspiracy to him; but alleged that he did his utmost to dissuade him from engaging in it, and believed that the idea was laid aside. He was beheaded at Edinburgh, and his head, being surrounded with a crown of iron, was exposed to public view. The principal conspirator, sir Robert Grahame, whose mind had devised, and whose hand executed the bloody deed, boldly contended that he had a right to act as he had done. The king, he said, had inflicted on him mortal injury; and he, in return, had renounced his allegiance, and sent him a formal letter of defiance. Dreadful tortures were inflicted on the regicide, which served but to show how much extremity a hardy spirit is capable to endure. He told the court, that, though now executed as a traitor, he should be hereafter recollected as the man who had freed Scotland from a tyrant. But the evil spirit which had seduced him, and seemed to speak by his mouth, proved a false prophet: the immortality which his memory obtained was only conferred by a popular rhyme, to this effect:—

Robert Grahame,
That kill'd our King, God give him shame.

James I. had two sons; but one dying in infancy, he left behind him only James II., who in his childhood succeeded to his father's throne. The late king had five

daughters, who were married, four of them into noble families abroad; while the youngest was wedded to the earl of Angus.

Among the transactions of this reign, we ought not to omit to mention the fate of two heretics. The first was a Wickliffite, called John Resby, already mentioned as executed under the regency of Albany. James I. himself is culpable for having permitted the death of Paul Crawar, a foreigner, and a follower of John of Huss. He was tried by Laurence of Lindores, the same bigoted inquisitor who sat in judgment on Resby, whose fate this second martyr shared, at Saint Andrew's, 1435. These instances prove that Scotland did not escape the ravages of intolerant superstition, though her history stands more free of such shocking cruelties than that of nations more important and more early civilized than herself.

CHAP. XIX.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE NOBLES AND THE CROWN. — ELEVATION OF CRICHTON AND LIVINGSTON TO THE GOVERNMENT. — THEIR DISSENSIONS. — CRICHTON POSSESSES HIMSELF OF THE KING'S PERSON; BUT BY A STRATAGEM OF THE QUEEN HE IS CONVEYED TO STIRLING. — CRICHTON IS BESIEGED IN EDINBURGH CASTLE; RECONCILES HIMSELF WITH LIVINGSTON; QUARRELS ONCE MORE WITH HIM; AND AGAIN OBTAINS THE CUSTODY OF THE KING'S PERSON. — A SECOND RECONCILIATION. — POWER OF THE DOUGLAS FAMILY. — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE YOUNG EARL OF DOUGLAS AND HIS BROTHER. — HIGHLAND FEUDS. — DOUGLAS GAINS THE ASCENDANCY IN THE KING'S COUNCILS. — FALL OF THE LIVINGSTONS. FEUD OF THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND THE OGILVIES. — DEATH OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — BATTLE OF SARK. — MARRIAGE OF JAMES. — HIS QUARREL WITH DOUGLAS: HE PUTS HIM TO DEATH WITH HIS OWN HAND. — GREAT CIVIL WAR. — THE DOUGLAS FAMILY IS DESTROYED. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — SIEGE OF ROXBURGH CASTLE, AND DEATH OF JAMES II.

IN the reign of James I. a struggle had commenced of a nature hitherto unknown to Scotland. The dissensions

nobles, who considered every office near the king's person as their own peculiar and patrimonial right, and who had in many instances converted such employments into subjects of hereditary transmission.

Among the able men whom James I. called in this manner from comparative obscurity, the names of two statesmen appear, whom he had selected from the rank of the gentry, and raised to a high place in his council. These were sir William Crichton the chancellor, and sir Alexander Livingston of Calder. Both were men of ancient family, though, descended probably of Saxon parentage, they did not number among the greater nobles, who claimed, generally speaking, their birth from the Norman blood. Both, and more especially Crichton, had talents of a distinguished order, and were well qualified to serve the state. Unhappily, these two statesmen, upon whom either the will of the late king, or the ordinance of a parliament called at Edinburgh immediately after James's murder, devolved the power of a joint regency, were enemies to each other, probably from ancient rivalry; and it was still more unfortunate that their talents were not united with corresponding virtues; for Livingston and Crichton appear to have been alike ambitious, cruel, and unscrupulous politicians. It is said by the Scots chronicles, that the parliament assigned to Crichton the chancellor the administration of the kingdom, and to Livingston the care of the person of the young king.

It might have been supposed that the widowed queen Joanna had some title to be comprised in the commission of regency, and there are indications that such had been the purpose of her husband. But alone, an English stranger, and a woman, after prosecuting the murderers of her husband to the death, she seems to have withdrawn herself from public affairs; and shortly afterwards married a man of rank, sir James Stewart, who was called the Black Knight of Lorn—an union which, placing herself under tutelage, disqualified her from the office of regent, whether in her sole person or as an associate of

cause: and as she was permitted to visit the castle at all times, she contrived to convey the child out of that fortress by inclosing him in a coffer, supposed to contain a part of her wardrobe. Setting sail from Leith, she removed the prince by water to Stirling, where Livingston lay in garrison, by whom she was gladly received. Assembling there such nobles and barons as adhered to him, Livingston proposed to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, and the queen offered from her own storehouses to supply the soldiers with food. The castle was beleaguered accordingly. Crichton, thus severely threatened, applied himself in his necessity to the earl of Douglas, offering his constant friendship and assistance, on condition of the earl's standing his friend at this crisis. The earl scarce heard the message to an end, answering with a furious look and gesture, "It is but small harm, methinks, although such mischievous traitors as Crichton and Livingston move war against each other; and it would ill become any of the ancient race of nobles to interfere to prevent their utter wreck and destruction. As for myself, nothing is more pleasing than to hear of their discord; and I hope I shall live to see the mischief they deserve condignly overwhelm both."

The siege by this time was laid around the castle of Edinburgh, when Crichton, having received this scornful answer from the earl of Douglas, asked an interview with his enemy Livingston, to whom he communicated the earl's reply as indicating no less hostility to the governor than to himself, and proposed that they should forget their private enmity, and unite to protect themselves against Douglas as their common enemy. At the same time, upon an understanding that he should receive honourable treatment, Crichton declared himself ready to yield up the castle to the governor. Livingston, after consulting his friends, accepted of Crichton's submission, confirmed him in his office of chanceller, and restored the castle of Edinburgh to his charge; and a course of friendship and amity seems for a short interval to have taken place betwixt the two rival statesmen.

they were accused of is not known ; but the extent of their power and the lawless character of their followers must have afforded enough of pretexts for condemnation, when the sentence rested with judges who were determined to make no allowance for the youth and inexperience of the accused parties, for the artifices by which they had been brought within the danger of the law, and for their being totally deprived of constitutional or legal defenders. The youthful earl and his brother were dragged from the mock judgment-seat to the castle-yard, where, in spite of the entreaties and prayers of the young king, they were cruelly beheaded. Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, a friend and adherent of their family, shared the fate of the unfortunate boys. The whole might be well pronounced a murder committed with the sword of justice.

Unquestionably Livingston and Crichton, the authors of this detestable treason, reckoned on its effects in depressing the house of Douglas, and producing general quiet and good order, the rather upon two accounts: the first was, that a large part of the unentailed property, in particular the estates of Galloway, Wigton, Balveny, Ormond, and Annandale, were severed from the inheritance which was to descend on the new earl of Douglas, and went to Margaret, the sister of the earl William who was beheaded in the castle, who was thence commonly called the Fair Maiden of Galloway. Another encouragement to the crime was the indolent and pacific disposition of James, called the Gross, the uncle of the murdered earl. This corpulent dignitary, whose fat is said to have weighed four stone, seems accordingly to have taken no measures whatever for avenging the death of his relatives ; on which account the historian of the Douglas family expresses his opinion that earl James's obesity had invested him with a dulness of spirit inconsistent with the quick feeling of honour that should have stimulated him to a bold revenge.

But the state took as little benefit from the division of the Douglas estates as from the peaceful temper of James the Gross. A marriage, hastily effected, between

William, son and heir of James the Gross, and his cousin-german, Margaret, the fair maid of Galloway, restored the whole of her immense possessions to the male heir of the house of Douglas: and James the Gross being removed by death within two years after the murder at Edinburgh castle, was succeeded by the same William, a youth in the flower of his age, of as ardent ambition as any of his towering house, and filled with hatred against Crichton and Livingston for their share in his kinsmen's death. Thus did the power of Douglas revive in its most dangerous form, within two years after the tragic execution in the castle of Edinburgh; and the political crime of Crichton and Livingston was, like many of the same dark complexion, committed in vain.

If we look at Scotland generally during this minority, it forms a dark and disgusting spectacle. Feudal animosities were revived in all corners of the country; and the barriers of the law having been in a great measure removed, the land was drenched with the blood of its inhabitants, shed by their countrymen and neighbours. In 1442 John Colquhoun, lord of Luss, was cut off, with many of his followers, by a party of Highlanders. In the subsequent year, the sheriff of Perth, sir William Ruthven, having arrested a Highland thief, and being in the act of leading him to execution, a rescue was attempted by a body of Athole mountaineers, headed by a chief named John Gorme, or Gormac.* The assailants were, however, defeated, and their leaders slain.

In the midst of universal complaint, bloodshed, and confusion, the king was approaching his fourteenth year. 14 He was easily persuaded, or brought to persuade himself, that he could govern more effectively without the control of Crichton and Livingston, while the greater part of his subjects were at least satisfied that he could not rule worse than with the assistance of such unscrupulous counsellors. This produced a desire on the part both of the king and his subjects to dissolve the regency; and the

* The Blue, so called, perhaps, from the colour of his dress.

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earl of Douglas, trusting to find his own advantage, and the means of prosecuting his revenge against Crichton and Livingston, with more art than his house had usually manifested, resolved to make personal advances to gain the king's favour, and prosecute his course to power rather as an ally and minister of the throne than the avowed rival and antagonist of the royal family.

There was an occasion shortly offered which afforded Douglas a graceful opportunity of approaching the king's person with offers of service and protestations of fidelity. Sir Robert Semple, sheriff-depute to the lord Erskine, was in the important charge of Dumbarton castle, while the upper baillie of the same fort was intrusted to Patrick Galbraith, a vassal of the earl of Douglas. For some unknown cause of suspicion, Semple deprived Galbraith of his charge, and ordered him to begone from the castle. Galbraith seemed to obey; but introducing a few men, under pretence of removing his furniture and household stuff, he suddenly attacked sir Robert Semple, and expelled, or, as other authorities say, slew him, and seized the whole fortress into his own possession.

The earl of Douglas assumed an appearance of great concern, as if Galbraith's dependence upon him might occasion this affair to be made a handle against him by his enemies. He therefore came to court, submitted himself to the king's will, placed his person in the royal power without reserve, and personated so well the expressions and behaviour of a good subject, that James was delighted to find in the earl of Douglas, who had been represented as a formidable rival, a vassal so powerful at once and so humble. The king received him not into favour only, but into confidential trust and power, and with the assistance received from him easily succeeded in assuming the supreme authority into his own hands, and in displacing Livingston and Crichton, who had governed in James's name since his father's death.

In modern times, the dismissal of a ministry whose government has lasted long and assumed an absolute character, is usually followed by enquiries and impeach-

ments: in the more ancient days, the ministers were called to account for their power by the terrors of a civil war. But the late chancellor and governor were, as the age required, soldiers as well as statesmen. Livingston shut himself up in the castle of Stirling, and determined on resistance; the chancellor also garrisoned his castles, and stood upon his defence. Douglas, armed with the royal authority, marched against the baronial castles of Crichton and of Barnton, both belonging to the late chancellor. These fortresses were held out against the Douglas's banner for several days, but surrendered when that of the king was displayed before them. Douglas caused them to be dismantled.

But the far more important castle of Edinburgh was stoutly defended by sir William Crichton in person: nor did he refrain from offensive measures; for, in revenge of the mischief done by Douglas to his lands, he made sallies out of the castle with force sufficient to destroy the lands of Abercorn and Strabroek, belonging to the earl. He continued to hold out the castle of Edinburgh for 149
nine weeks, and at last surrendered it on the most advantageous terms. He was confirmed in his honours, titles, and possessions; even his office of chancellor was restored to him. He seems to have formed an alliance with the earl of Douglas, and consented to take a share in his administration, surrendering at the same time to the earl's resentment sir Alexander Livingston, the king's governor.

This latter statesman was arrested, with many of his friends; and though his own gray hairs were spared, their ransom was dearly purchased by the decapitation of his two sons, and the destruction of his family. He himself was imprisoned, and with his kinsmen Dundas, Bruce, and others, subjected to ruinous fines and penalties.

The earl of Douglas now attained the high dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and having the universal management of state affairs, failed not to use his influence for the advancement of the overswollen importance of his house. Three of his brothers were created

peers. Archibald, by marrying with the heiress of the earl of Moray, succeeded to that title and estate; Hugh Douglas was made earl of Ormond; and John lord of Balveny.

Meantime the public tranquillity went to wreck on all hands; and one feud is distinguished by our historians from the rest, on account of the number and consequence of the parties engaged on both sides. The powerful earl of Crawford, by countenance and aid of the Livingstons, and by assistance of the family of Ogilvy, made an inroad on the property of the bishopric of Saint Andrew's, then held by James Kennedy, a near relation to the king. For this incursion, the bishop excommunicated the parties concerned on all the holidays of the year, with staff and mitre, book, bell, and candle. This, however, was but empty vengeance on men who made but slight account

1445. of his curses. A more effectual amends ensued from a quarrel between the master of Crawford and Ogilvy of Inverquharity, the chief of that great name, about the bailliewick of Aberbrothock, which the abbot had taken from Crawford and bestowed upon Ogilvy. They assembled their forces on each side; and the parties having met near the gates of the town of Aberbrothock, were prepared to fight it out, headed by the master of Crawford on the one side, and Inverquharity on the other. The Gordons, under the earl of Huntley, arrived on the field of battle, took the part of the Ogilvies, and the battle was about to join. At this moment the earl of Crawford rode forward between the two bodies, with the purpose of making terms. The master halted his forces at his father's command, and the earl was advancing towards the Ogilvies, when one of them, ignorant who he was, rode at him with his lance, threw him to the ground, and mortally wounded him. Both parties joined battle with mutual fury, and after a fierce conflict the Ogilvies were defeated, and their chief fell in the action, while his ally Huntley only escaped by flight. It gives an idea of the fury of this domestic feud, when we read that in this battle of Aberbrothock five hundred of the vanquished were slain on the field. The earl of Crawford did not

long survive this bloody field of private vengeance; and his body lay for a considerable time above ground, on account of the sentence of excommunication.

In the midst of this almost universal turmoil we may notice the death of Joanna, the queen mother, who hardly obtained permission to die in safety in the castle of Dunbar, that of Hales being stormed and taken for having afforded her temporary refuge. Her husband, the Black Knight of Lorn, having uttered some words reflecting on the administration of the earl of Douglas, saw himself compelled to leave Scotland. His misfortunes continued to attend him; the bark on which he sailed for France was taken by a Flemish corsair, and he died shortly after in a species of captivity.

In the mean time the earl of Douglas, who possessed the warlike character of his ancestors, defended the country against its external enemies with better success than that with which he maintained domestic tranquillity. The borderers, partaking the spirit of the unsettled times, had broken through the truce by incursions on both sides; and the discordant administrations of Henry VI. and James II., who strongly resembled each other in point of cabal and internal dissension, found that the two countries were at war, even without either government intending it. On the one side, Dumfries was burnt by young Percy and Robert Ogle; on the other, Lord Balveny, the youngest brother of Douglas, gave the town of Alnwick to the flames.

To make a deeper impression on the hostile country, the earl of Huntingdon and lord Percy crossed the western marches with about fifteen thousand men. They were met by Douglas at the head of a much inferior army, who either defeated or compelled them to retire. This foil only animated the English to a stronger effort. 14 They assembled an army amounting to twenty thousand men. They crossed the river Sark at low water, and found themselves in front of the Scottish force, under command of Hugh earl of Ormond, another brother of the Douglas family. Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, who seems to

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have been second in command of the Scottish army, he behaved himself with distinguished bravery. He was mortally wounded in leading the Scottish right wing into a close conflict with the left of the English, who were commanded by Magnus Redman, governor of Berwick, in whose military skill the English placed great confidence. The Scots, encouraged by their dying leader, pressed furiously forward: Magnus Redman was slain in the mêlée, and the English gave way. The river Sark, now augmented by the returning tide, lay in the rear of the fugitive army: many were drowned in the attempt to cross it. The English army lost three thousand men; and the young lord Percy and Sir John Pennington were made prisoners.

1449. The truce was shortly after again renewed by the English; and in the treaty on the occasion both parties disowned having been the cause of its being broken. About the same period, the interest of the earl of Douglas at the Scottish court began to decline. It is not to imagine various ways in which the earl's influence might have grown a minister may have given offence to the king, who, being now about the age of eighteen, might perhaps be disposed to look upon the earl as a rival rather than a servant of the throne. Most kings protect their favourites, whose fortunes, however exalted, are nevertheless the work of their own hands; and the Douglas's power and splendour rested on a precarious basis of lands and possessions, which the king could easily have taken away. The misrule of the king had created a great number of numerous and bitter foes into which his power was divided; were universally said to be fostered and increased by the earl's influence; and it was still of that nature, the worst of felons was arrested for the sake of the earl, and might completely secure himself, by the earl's influence, from being done the deed at the crown's bidding. The earl's power was of a Douglas's quarrel.

Sir William Crichton, who was a man of great experience and acquainted with state affairs, bore the king's confidence; and the king's policy was to keep the earl's power

honourable commission of renewing the old alliance with France, and seeking out upon the continent a befitting match for the king. The election fell on Mary of Gueldres, with whom Philip of Burgundy agreed to give sixty thousand crowns of gold as the portion of his kinswoman, who had been educated at his court. The alliance with France was renewed, and one with Burgundy was entered into. The success of sir William Crichton in this negotiation, and the acceptable selection of his bride, raised the old statesman still higher in James's favour; and as he acquired the royal confidence, he had further opportunities of instilling into the sovereign's mind the rules of policy on which his father James I. had acted, with a view of raising the power of the crown, and depressing the feudal greatness of the nobility. These instructions were necessarily unfavourable to Douglas.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh, providing for 1450 the restoration of the progresses of the justiciary courts, which had been interrupted, and denouncing the penalties of rebellion against all persons who should presume to make private war on the king's subjects, declaring, that the whole force of the country should be led against them if necessary. Severe laws were made against spoilers and marauders; and regulations laid down that the nobility should travel with moderate trains, to avoid oppressing the country. Finally, a statute was passed imposing the pains of treason on any who should aid or supply with help or counsel those who were traitors to the king's person, or who should garrison houses in their defence, or aid such rebels in the assault of castles or other places where the king's person should happen to be for the time. The tendency of these laws shows the predominant evils which had taken root during the king's minority, and the remedies by which, when come to man's estate, James II. proceeded to attempt a cure.

The earl of Douglas, finding his court-favour upon the wane, began to withdraw himself from the king's, and, in despite of the laws which had been so lately enacted, to play the independent prince in his own country, which

comprehended all the borders, and great part of the west of Scotland. An instance of his mode of acting occurred in a feud between Richard Colville of Ochiltree and John Auchinleck of Auchinleck. The former having received some injuries from Auchinleck, watched an opportunity, while his enemy was journeying to wait upon the earl of Douglas, whose follower he was, and

1443. on the road waylaid and slew him. Douglas, considering this violence as a personal insult to himself, undertaken perhaps in scorn of his diminished power, instantly beset Colville's castle with a body of men, took it by force, and put the lord and his garrison to the sword. This daring contempt of the public law, though coloured over as the vengeance claimed by the memory of a worthy follower, was justly regarded at court as a daring insult to the royal authority, and so much resented by James, that the earl judged it prudent for a time to absent himself, not only from the court, but from the country.
1450. The earl of Douglas, therefore, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, which he performed magnificently, with a retinue of six knights, fourteen gentlemen, and eighty attendants of inferior rank. He was received at Paris with the honour due to his high family, and the memory of his ancestor who fell at Vernueil in the French service. Even at Rome the name of Douglas was respected, and the rude magnificence of the earl who bore it attracted attention and regard.

While Douglas was absent on his pilgrimage, his vassals continued to be disorderly and insubordinate as before. Symington, the earl's bailiff in Douglasdale, was cited to answer for the conduct of such malefactors, but contumaciously refused to obey. Upon this, William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, then chancellor of Scotland, was sent to levy distress on the rents and goods of the earl of Douglas, to satisfy those who complained of injury from his tenants. The chancellor's mission met with no success, for he was received only with resistance and insult. The king, incensed at this contumacy offered to the

at your pleasure." He then mounted his good horse, and, unable any longer to suppress his burning sense of the insult and injury with which he had been treated, he sternly said, "My lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded according to your demerits for this day's work."* The earl, incensed at these words, instantly called to horse; and though sir Patrick Gray rode off upon the spur so soon as he had uttered the threat, he was chased by the followers of the Douglas till near to Edinburgh, and would have been taken but for the excellence of his led horse.

It is probable that this piece of cruelty, accompanied with such a marked degree of contempt, not only to the laws but to the person of the king, filled up the cup of James's resentment against the earl of Douglas. Still the extreme power which rendered this overgrown noble so presumptuous made it perilous for the king to enter into open war against him. It was therefore determined by Crichton and others, who shared in the king's more secret councils, that the king should affect an appearance of good will towards the earl, and invite him to court, with assurances that none of his past enormities should be enquired into, and that a reconciliation should be effected, on the footing of Douglas's forbearing such aggressions against the royal authority in future.

By what allurements the king and his counsellors were able to lull to rest the suspicions which Douglas, conscious of his own demerits, must have entertained of James's feelings towards one by whom he had been publicly insulted, we have no means of knowing. It appears that religion, too often employed as the most efficient mask of sinister designs, was not spared on the occasion; and that sir William Crichton and sir Patrick Gray had proposed to accompany Douglas and his brother James, with lord Hamilton, his most powerful and faithful follower, upon a pilgrimage to Canterbury.

* This circumstance renders it most probable that the castle of Douglas was the scene of this strange incident: that of the Thirive being situated on an island, sir Patrick Gray could not have escaped from it on horseback. ..

upon the bond or league in which Douglas had engaged with the earls of Crawford and Ross, and earnestly urged him to renounce it as a confederacy inconsistent with his allegiance, dangerous to the state, and contrary to the express law of the realm. The earl haughtily replied, that, his faith being once pledged to that bond as a solemn engagement, he could not with his honour renounce it, nor would he do so for the words of any living man. "By heaven, then," said the king, his wrath being excited to the uttermost by the obdurate and disrespectful answer of the earl, "if you will not break the confederacy, this shall." So saying, he drew his dagger, and plunged it in Douglas's body. Sir Patrick Gray came to the assistance of the king, and, not unmindful of his vow of revenge, beat Douglas down with his battle-axe, and all the courtiers present attested their approbation of the deed, by striking their knives and daggers into the too powerful subject, who lay now a corpse at the feet of his sovereign.

The character of James II. suffered a great stain by the death of Douglas, slain by his own hand while the royal guest, under sanction of the public faith. But circumstances acquit the king of the premeditated guilt of the action, and show it to have been the furious explosion of a sudden gust of passion, which, if pardonable in any person, may plead some excuse in the case of a prince braved to the face by his subject. Indeed, what end could the king or his counsellors propose to themselves by taking the earl's life, when in the very town of Stirling, at the moment of the deed, he had five surviving brothers, men of undaunted courage and resolution, the eldest of whom must have succeeded, as in fact he did, to the full power of the shattered earl? Such a crime, therefore, could only be the result of instantly precipitating that dreadful struggle between the crown and the aristocracy which it was the policy of the court to delay till some more favourable opportunity, and which would certainly be more properly commenced by an act carrying with it the sanction of

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of exposing the king to a charge of perfidy or breach of faith. If, however, it is to be believed that the death of Douglas was a premeditated action, it is still certain that the manner in which it was perpetrated must have arisen out of accident, since there occur so many obvious reasons why other agency than that of the king himself should have been employed for his removal, and in finding such there could have been no difficulty.

But the reader may demand, what could be the purpose of James, if not to rid himself of his turbulent subject by death. If we are to substitute conjecture where certainty is not to be had, we may suggest the probability that the king had determined to arrest Douglas in case he was found intractable, and to detain him a hostage for the quiet demeanour of his family, until his league with the northern earls was broken, and the height of his dangerous power was in some degree diminished. There might be in this device some part of the policy, as well as the unscrupulous breach of faith, which characterised the politics of such a statesman as Crichton; and considering the vehement character of James II. and the stubborn and presumptuous disposition of the earl, it is easy to conceive how, in a personal interview betwixt two such hot and passionate spirits, the intended purpose of arrest should have been changed for one of a more bloody and decisive character.

The five brothers of the slaughtered earl, on hearing his fate, instantly assembled themselves, and with the friends of their powerful family recognised the eldest of their number as earl of Douglas, being the last that was fated to wear that formidable title. The assembly vowed revenge for the blood of earl William; but, instead of pressing an instant siege of Stirling castle, ere it was supplied with provisions or means of defence, they agreed to meet there in arms on the 25th day of March. They assembled accordingly, bringing with them the safe-conduct granted to earl William, which they dragged in scorn at the tail of a lean cart-horse;

and in further reprobation of the king's treachery they proclaimed him and his advisers and accomplices in the death of Douglas false, perjured, and forsworn men, while four hundred horns blew out at once to attest the fact thus formally promulgated. They then burnt the town of Stirling, but drew off their forces, as finding themselves still unable to attempt the siege of the castle, so that the king obtained some breathing space to improve his affairs in a very dangerous crisis.

Several of the nobility, seeing it absolutely necessary to take a part in the approaching contest, declared for the lawful authority of the crown, feeling, probably, that the control of a sovereign prince was more honourable certainly, and not likely to be so severe as that of the house of Douglas. Among those who held such opinions was an important chief of the house of Douglas itself, namely, the earl of Angus, who, being nearly related to the king, preferred the royal service to that of the head of his own house. The lord Douglas of Dalkeith also held out his castle, so named, against the fiercest attacks of the earl his namesake and kinsman. The king's most powerful adherent was, however, Alexander Gordon, the first earl of Huntley, who arrayed under the royal standard a great part of the northern barons, and marched southward at their head towards Stirling.

The earl of Crawford was, however, faithful to his bond of alliance, though Douglas, with whom it had been contracted, was no more. Being cited to justify himself against an accusation of treason, he refused to obey, and assembling a strong army of his friends in Fifeshire and Angusshire, he took post at Brechin, in order to intercept Huntley on his march towards Stirling. On the evening before the expected battle, Huntley, that his men might have more spirit in the encounter the next day, distributed many fair lands among the leaders of his army. Crawford followed a more niggardly policy. Collasse of Balnamoon, or Bonnymoon, who commanded a select division of axe-men and bill-men in the earl's army, feeling his own importance, requested of the earl,

who was superior of his lands, that he would enter his son as vassal in the fief, which Crawford sternly refused to do. Collasse retired in discontent. The fight on the May morrow commenced with great fury, and the men 18. of Angus attacked the northern troops so furiously as 1452. forced them to recoil, and placed the king's standard in danger. At this critical moment, John Col-lasse, whose duty it was to have sustained the assailants, led his division of bill-men out of the line, and exposed the centre of Crawford's army without support, while the left wing engaged with the enemy. Huntley instantly availed himself of the opportunity to assault and break the troops who were thus laid open. The fortune of the field was thus changed, and the defeated earl of Crawford retreated in great displeasure to his house at Finhaven. A gentleman of Huntley's army is said to have pursued the vanquished earl so closely, that he at last became completely involved in a crowd of the immediate attendants of lord Crawford, and finding it necessary for his safety to pass for one of the number, he followed them in that character into the house of Finhaven, where he heard the earl say he would have been content to have purchased that day's victory, though it were at the penalty of seven years' residence in the infernal regions. The gentleman brought back these words to king James with a silver cup, bearing the earl of Crawford's arms, which he had subtracted from the sideboard in the confusion, to be a voucher of his strange adventure.

The earl of Huntley did not derive much immediate advantage from his victory. He was instantly recalled to the north, by the intelligence that the earl of Murray, one of the brethren of the earl of Douglas, had burned his castle of Strathbogie, and was ravaging his estates : so that Crawford remained in Angus as arbitrary as before, spoiling the lands and destroying the houses of such as had joined the king or Huntley against him. Despairing, however, of making an effectual resistance against the sovereign authority, this bold and fierce lord at length

submitted himself in the most humble manner to the king's mercy, and was received with some degree of favour. The king rode to visit him at the house of Finhaven, where he was dutifully and respectfully entertained; and James is said to have thrown a flag-stone from the battlements of the castle down into the ditch, that he might, without injury to the earl or his mansion, fulfil a vow which he had made in his anger, that he would make the highest stone of that house the lowest.

1453. Shortly afterwards some species of peace or truce seems to have been patched up between the king and the earl of Douglas, with little sincerity on either side, but from a feeling of unwillingness in both to carry to extremity a contest which must inevitably terminate in the destruction of the house of Douglas or that of Stewart, now exasperated by mutual wrongs, and placed in the most direct opposition to each other. But the pause of a few months again awakened the contending families to contention, which had never perhaps been actually suspended, but was now to be final and decisive. The forces of the parties stood thus matched:—

In the north the king's interest predominated, though not without a struggle; Huntley having been defeated by Murray, at a swampy spot called the Bog of Dunkintie. The consequence of these feuds to the community at large may be guessed by the fate of the town of Elgin. One part of the town was burned by the earl of Murray as the property of citizens who favoured the Gordon: Huntley having recovered the superiority in his turn, it is most likely the other half was consumed as houses belonging to adherents of Douglas. Meantime both Murray and Ormond felt in the long run unequal to defend themselves in the north against the families of distinction who joined the king's standard, and they both retreated to the Hebrides.

The earl of Douglas, after the temporary reconciliation with his sovereign, had retreated to England with several members of his family, and particularly with Margaret, called the Fair Maiden of Galloway, widow of

parently faithful minister, had died before these second tumults commenced ; but he had a wise and able counsellor in James Kennedy, archbishop of Saint Andrew's, to whose advice he listened on this occasion. This sagacious prelate reminded James that the camp of the Douglas, though containing a very large host, consisted of numerous chieftains who followed the insurgent earl not from attachment, but either out of awe for his power, or hopes that they might gain something in the conflict. Could the expectations and fears of such persons be withdrawn from Douglas and fixed on the king, there would be no difficulty in transferring their allegiance to the crown. "The foe," said the sagacious prelate, "are like a sheaf of arrows: while they remain bound together, it were vain to attempt to break them; but sever the tie which unites them together, and a child may shiver them one after another."

Acting upon the counsel which he gave, the primate undertook to lop a main limb from the Douglas's enterprise, by a private communication with Hamilton, who commanded a chosen body of troops in Douglas's army. He had been the uniform and attached friend of earl William of Douglas, murdered at Stirling, and was now that of earl James. But he began to perceive that the latter had too little of the decisive character belonging to his house to bring the present conflict to an honourable or advantageous issue. He listened, therefore, but did not close immediately with the proposal of the archbishop, that he should embrace the royal party, and he hesitated between the sense of what was most for his own interest and personal advantage, and that which friendship and honour required of him.

The king now advanced with his host, and Douglas drew out his forces to meet him. The king's heralds advancing, charged the rebels to disperse, under the pains of treason ; and though Douglas returned a scornful answer, he saw the royal proclamation had such influence on his army, that he was induced to suspend the impending action till next day, and lead his troops back into his intrench-

ments. Douglas had no sooner entered his pavilion than Hamilton requested to speak with him, and demanded positive information whether it was the earl's purpose to fight or no, declaring it was high time they should know his mind, since, while the royal army was every day increasing, theirs was thinned by constant desertion. "If you are tired," answered Douglas, without farther explanation of his intention, "you are welcome to be gone." Hamilton took the earl at his word, and that very night passed over to the royal camp from that of Douglas with the chosen troops which he commanded, being three hundred horse, and as many infantry. The example was contagious, for the character of Hamilton for prudence and sagacity stood very high. All the chiefs considered his change of sides as an example tending to show them the only possible mode of escaping from ruin, and contended which should be the first to act upon it. The army of insurgents dissolved like a snow-wreath in a sudden thaw, and on the fateful morning succeeding that in which the earl Douglas led out an host of nearly forty thousand men, his empty camp scarce contained a hundred soldiers save his own household troops.

The secession of Hamilton to the royal cause was deservedly regarded as excellent service. He was, for appearance sake, put in ward for a while at Roslin, under the charge of the earl of Orkney. But the king's favour was shown to him by large grants of forfeited estates, and by the title of lord of parliament, which raised first to nobility the great ducal house of Hamilton. The earl of Douglas broke up his camp and withdrew with his diminished squadrons, to take refuge in the wildest districts of the border, where they lurked as exiles and fugitives in the countries which they had lately commanded with sovereign power. The castle of Abercorn, despairing of relief, soon surrendered, and of the defenders some principal persons were put to death for holding out the place against the king. James II. proceeded to march his army through the west and south of Scotland, where his powerful opponents had lately been proprietors of the

soil, and leaders, if *not* tyrants, of the people, and with slight resistance reduced all the strong places of the Douglases to his own authority. Douglas castle itself, that of Strathaven, and that of the Thrieve, were in this manner taken and demolished.

About the same time, and while the king was making his triumphant progress, Douglas himself fled into England with a very few attendants. His three brothers, Moray, Ormond, and Balveny, remained on the borders at the head of the remains of the followers of their family, and maintained them by military licence. This, and the hope of benefiting by their forfeitures, aroused against them the clan of Scott, already, under their chief, Buccleuch, rising into formidable distinction in the west and middle marches. The Beattiesons, a numerous and bold people, with other borderers, united under the leading of Scott. All these clans had been lately numbered among the vassals of Douglas, and had owned his authority; but the failure before Abercorn had emboldened them to throw off the yoke, and bid defiance to the banners under which they had at no distant period ranked themselves. A conflict took place at Arkinholm, near Langholm, where the bands of Douglas were totally defeated by these border clans. The earl of Moray was slain; the earl of Ormond taken prisoner, condemned; and executed; and of the brethren of Douglas the lord Balveny alone escaped into England.

The history of this the last of the original branch of the Douglas family may as well be terminated here. Having during his prosperity maintained a close intercourse with the house of York, who were then in power, Douglas was hospitably received in England. In the year 1483, he, with the duke of Albany, then a banished noble like himself, made an incursion into Scotland, having vowed they would make their offer on the high altar of Lochmaben upon Saint Magdalen's day. The west border men rose to repel the incursion. The exiles were defeated, and the earl of Douglas struck from his horse. Surrounded by enemies, and seeing on the field a son of

Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, once his own follower, the earl surrendered himself to him in preference to others, that, as an old friend, he might profit by the reward of 100*l*. and * set upon his head. Kirkpatrick wept to see the extremity to which his old master was reduced, and offered to set him at liberty, and fly with him into England. But Douglas, weary of exile, was resigned to his fate. When the aged prisoner came before the king, James III commanded him to be put into the cloister at Lindores. The earl only replied, "He that may no better must be a monk." He assumed the tonsure accordingly, and died about 1488.

Thus, after an obscure conflict with those who had been so lately its dependants, fell, and for ever, the formidable power of the house of Douglas, which had so lately measured itself against that of monarchy. It can only be compared to the gourd of the prophet, which, spreading with such miraculous luxuriance, was withered in a single night. The indecision and imbecility of earl James, who did not chance to possess the qualities of military skill and political wisdom which had seemed till his time almost hereditary in this great family, appear to have been the immediate cause of their destruction. But there was moral justice in the lesson, that a house raised to power by the inappreciable services and indefeasible loyalty of the good lord James and his successors, should fall by the irregular ambition and treasonable practices of its later chiefs.

In a parliament called at Edinburgh some care was taken that lavish grants of the domains of the crown should not become again the cause of bringing the kingdom into danger; "forasmuch," says the statute, "as the poverty of the crown is often the cause of the poverty of the realm." It was therefore declared, that certain castles and domains should be inalienably annexed to the crown. It was further provided, that the import-ant office of warden of the marches, which comprehended so much power, and the command of so many warlike

* A one hundred pound land is a Scottish phrase.

claus, should not be hereditary; that, in like manner, regalities, or jurisdictions, possessing regal power, should not in future be bestowed upon subjects without the consent of the estates. These enactments were judiciously calculated to prevent the raising up in any other family the same power of disturbing the domestic tranquillity which the Douglasses had so unhappily attained.

Yet, though the policy of retaining these forfeitures in the crown was distinctly seen, it could not in prudence be invariably acted upon. The king had no other means of rewarding the services of the loyal chiefs who had stood by the crown in the last struggle, than by grants out of the estates of the traitors; and the lands of the Douglas family, large as they were, were inadequate to satisfy the numerous expectants. The chief of these was the earl of Angus, a large and flourishing branch of the Douglas, sprung from a second son of the earl of the principal family. The present Angus, as already mentioned, had been a loyalist during his kinsman's usurpation, which, from the difference of the family complexion, led to a popular saying, that the Red Douglas had put down the Black. The earl of Angus was rewarded with a grant of Douglas castle with its valley and domains, of Tantallon castle, and other large portions of the ancient estates of the Douglas family; an imprudent profusion, it must be allowed, since it served to raise this younger branch to a height not much less formidable to the crown than that which the original Douglasses had attained. Gordon, in the north, was not forgotten; and the southern chieftains profiting largely by the forfeiture of the Douglasses, easily obtained gifts of considerable possessions which no one but they themselves could have occupied with safety. In a word, if the king distinctly saw the policy of enriching the crown, which the statutes of his reign imply, it is as certain he found it impossible to follow the maxim rigidly without restricting the necessary bounty to his adherents. It was no time to lose men's hearts for lack of liberality; for the ashes of the civil hostility were

having differed in opinion of the plan of the campaign, they quarrelled among themselves, and retired with disgrace. The cause of these internal discords in the English camp probably arose out of the dissensions concerning the red and white roses, which were now engrossing the nation. The truce with England was prolonged for nine years. James, however, seems to have deemed the period favourable for recovering such Scottish possessions as were still held by the English; accordingly we find him breaking through the truce.

1460. It was with this view that the king collected a numerous army, and laid siege to Roxburgh, which had now been in possession of the English since the captivity of David II., and, as a military post, was of the greatest importance, being very strongly situated between the Tweed and Teviot, and not far from their confluence, in the most fertile part of the Scottish frontier. John the lord of the isles appeared in the royal camp, to atone for former errors and treasonable actions by zeal on the present occasion. He led a select body of Highlanders and islesmen armed with shirts of mail, two-handed swords, bows, and battle-axes, with which he offered to take the vanguard of the army should it be necessary to enter England, and to march a mile before the main body, so as to encounter the first brunt of the onset. Invasion, however, made no part of James's purpose on this occasion. He was desirous to recover possession of Roxburgh, and not being apprehensive of relief from England, resolved to proceed in the siege according to formal rule. He beleaguered the castle on every side, and battered it from the north of the Tweed, his cannon being placed in the duke of Roxburgh's park of Fleurs. James was proud of his train of cannon, and of the skill of a French engineer, who could level them so truly as to hit within a fathom of the place he aimed at, which, in these days, was held extraordinary practice. The siege had not continued many days when the arrival of the earl of Huntley, to whose valour and fidelity the king had been so much indebted with a gallant body of forces from the north,

CHAP. XX.

ROXBURGH IS TAKEN. — ADMINISTRATION DURING JAMES'S MINORITY. — HE ASSUMES THE ROYAL AUTHORITY, BY ADVICE OF THE BOYDS. — THE YOUNGER BOYD IS CREATED EARL OF ARRAN, AND MARRIED TO THE KING'S SISTER. — HE NEGOTIATES A MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE KING AND A PRINCESS OF DENMARK, AND OBTAINS THE ORKNEY AND ZETLAND ISLANDS IN SECURITY OF THE DOWERY : IS DISGRACED, AND DIES IN OBSCURITY. — TREATY OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE PRINCE OF SCOTLAND AND A DAUGHTER OF ENGLAND, AND ITS CONDITIONS : BROKEN OFF BY EDWARD IV. — SUBMISSION OF THE LORD OF THE ISLES. — CHARACTER OF JAMES III. — HIS FAVOURITE PURSUITS. — HIS DISPOSITION TO FAVOURITISM. — CHARACTER OF ALBANY AND MAR, THE KING'S BROTHERS. — THE KING IMPRISONS THEM ON SUSPICION. — ALBANY ESCAPES. — MAR IS MURDERED. — WAR WITH ENGLAND. — CONSPIRACY OF LAUDER. — THE KING'S FAVOURITE SEIZED AND EXECUTED. — INTRIGUES OF ALBANY. — HE IS RECEIVED INTO HIS BROTHER'S FAVOUR ; BUT IS AFTERWARDS AGAIN BANISHED. — PEACE WITH ENGLAND. — THE KING GIVES WAY TO HIS TASTE FOR MUSIC AND BUILDING. — CONSPIRACY OF THE SOUTHERN NOBLES. — BATTLE OF SAUCHYBURN, AND THE KING'S MURDER.

THE sudden death of James II. struck such a damp into the Scottish nobles, that they were about to abandon the siege of Roxburgh, and break up their camp, when the courage of Mary of Gueldres, the widowed queen, re-animated their spirits. She arrived in the camp almost immediately after the king's death, and throwing herself and her son, their infant sovereign, upon the faith of the Scottish lords, conjured them never to remove the siege from this ill-fated castle till they had laid it in ruins. The nobles caught fire at her exhortations. They crowned their king at the neighbouring abbey of Kelso, with such ceremonies of homage and royalty as the time admitted, and, pressing the siege with double vigour, compelled the English garrison to surrender on terms. The castle of Roxburgh they levelled to the ground, agreeably to the policy recommended by Robert Bruce. The vestiges of its walls still show the extent and consequence of which it had formerly boasted.

The queen regent naturally retained a considerable influence in the government, and seems to have acted for some time as regent, with the assistance of a council of state. Her conduct, however, which was not personally respectable, considerably diminished her influence before her death, which took place when she was in the full vigour of life. Kennedy archbishop of Saint Andrews, the wise and loyal friend of his father, became the personal guardian of the infant king. The rapid changes of fortune occurring in the wars of York and Lancaster saved Scotland during this minority from the dangers arising from her ambitious neighbours. The meek usurper, Henry VI., was received with hospitality in Scotland during his exile after the battle of Towton; and Berwick, an important acquisition, was delivered up by his authority to the Scots, and duly gar- risoned. The assistance rendered by Scotland to the de-throned king occasioned a brief war with England, urged with little zeal on either side, and which soon terminated by a truce, which in 1463 was extended to the unusually long period of fifty-five years.

The death of the queen mother and of archbishop Kennedy now opened to the king, who was in his fourteenth year, the dangerous privilege of acting for himself. Subject all his life to the weakness of adopting favourites, to whom he intrusted the charge of public affairs, when the nation had a right to expect they should be administered by himself personally, James surrendered himself to his immediate partialities. Robert lord Boyd, with his two sons, were at this time high in James's confidence; and the royal favour filled them with such presumption, that they removed the person of the king from those to whom his custody had been committed by the estates of the kingdom, and brought him to Edinburgh, under pretence of setting him at liberty. A new parliament was convoked, in which lord Boyd was formally pardoned for his late audacious enterprise; and, to add to the authority of the family, the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of James II., and sister to the king, was

given in marriage to sir Thomas Boyd, who was at the same time created earl of Arran.

67. An important acquisition to the Scottish dominions was effected in this reign, feeble as it was. The Orkney islands had as yet remained part of the Norwegian dominions, having been seized by that people in the ninth century. A large sum of money was due from Scotland to Denmark, being the arrears of the annual, as it was called, of Norway. This was the annuity of one hundred marks, due to Norway as the consideration for the cession of the Hebrides, or Western Isles, settled by the treaty of 1264, entered into after Haco's defeat at the battle of Largs. James I. had obtained some settlement respecting this annuity; but it had been again permitted to fall into arrear, and the amount of the debt had become uncertain.

Under the influence of Charles VII. of France there had been negotiations between Denmark and Scotland for the final arrangement of these claims, which were renewed in 1468. Boyd, the young earl of Arran, seems to have managed this treaty with considerable dexterity. It was finally agreed that James III. should wed a daughter of the princess of Denmark, whom her father proposed to endow with a portion of sixty thousand florins, of which ten thousand only were to be paid in ready money, and for security of the remainder the islands of Orkney were to be assigned in pledge. In addition to this, Denmark renounced all claim to the arrears of the annuity payable on account of the cession of the Hebrides, which seem to have been given up as an old, prescribed, and somewhat desperate claim. When the term for payment of the ten thousand florins arrived, Christian of Denmark found himself so short of money that he could only produce the fifth part of the sum, and for the rest an assignment of security over the archipelago of Zetland was offered and gladly accepted. Thus Scotland acquired a right of mortgage to the whole of these islands, constituting the ancient Thule, so important to her in every point of view, and which, as we shall here-

land became bound to repay the sum of money advanced in manner aforesaid, under the deduction of two thousand five hundred marks, which Edward agreed to abandon as a consideration paid for the friendship of Scotland at a critical period. By the same treaty the long truce of fifty-five years was affirmed and secured.

It appears from this remarkable treaty that the policy of Louis XI., who maintained his power in Europe more by influence and subsidies than by the direct exercise of positive violence and force, was becoming general through Europe, and had been adopted by England.

The payment of the princess Cecilia's portion so long before the possibility of an effectual marriage taking place, afforded an honourable pretext for England to give and Scotland to receive by instalments a certain large sum of money or subsidy, by which annual gratification she was to be induced to maintain amity with her wealthier neighbour. Edward IV. was, however, too impetuous and too necessitous to continue long this expensive, though secure course of policy. Three years' instalments of the proposed portion were paid with regularity; but Edward in the course of 1478 conceived he stood so well with France as might enable him to dispense with the expensive friendship of Scotland.

In the same year in which the treaty of marriage with England was fixed upon, the counsellors of James III. resolved to proceed to check the power of John lord of the isles and titular earl of Ross, whose insubordination again had merited chastisement. After a show of resistance the island lord submitted himself, and by an act of parliament was finally deprived of the earldom of Ross, which was annexed inalienably to the crown, with liberty to the kings to convey it as an appanage to their younger sons, but to no meaner subject. The humbled lord of the isles was also deprived of the regions of Knapdale and Cantire, which he had possessed on the continent, and dismissed under promise to be a submissive subject in future.

James the third had now attained his twenty-first

year under circumstances of success which had attended no Scottish monarch since Robert Bruce. His kingdom was strengthened by the expulsion of the English from Roxburgh castle and the town of Berwick, as well as by the acquisition of the Orkney and Zetland islands, the natural dependencies of Scotland. The country was relieved of the charge of the Norway annual, a burden it was incapable of discharging: and the increasing consequence of the nation was manifested by the contending offers of France and England for her favour and friendship. All these advantages indicate that James had, at this period of his reign, able ministers, by whom his counsels were directed. The chief of these probably was the chancellor, Andrew Stewart, lord Evandale, whose importance was now so great, that, in virtue of his office, he took rank next to the princes of the blood royal. He was a natural son of sir James Stewart, son of Murdach duke of Albany.

In the mean time the unfortunate James began to disclose evil qualities and habits which his youth had hitherto concealed from observation. He had a dislike to the active sports of hunting and the games of chivalry, mounted on horseback rarely, and rode ill. A consciousness of these deficiencies, in what were the most approved accomplishments of the age, and a certain shyness which attends a timorous temper, rendered the king alike unfit and unwilling to mingle in the pleasures of his nobility, or to show himself to his subjects in the romantic pageants which were the delight of the age. James's amusements were of a character in which neither his peers nor people could share, and though to a certain extent they were innocent, and even honourable, they were yet such as, pushed to excess, must have necessarily interfered with the regular discharge of his royal duties. He was attached to what are now called the fine arts of architecture and music; and in studying these used the instructions of Rogers, an English musician, Cochrane, a mason or architect, and Torphichen, a dancing-master. Another of his domestic minions was Honnill, a tailor,

not the least important in the conclave, if we may judge from the variety and extent of the royal wardrobe, of which a voluminous catalogue is preserved.

Spending his time with such persons, who, whatever their merit might be in their own several professions, could not be fitting company for a prince, James necessarily lost the taste for society of a different description, whose rank imposed on him a certain degree of restraint; and with the habit of engaging in good society easily, he left unpractised the manners which ought to distinguish the prince when mixing with the nobility of his realm. Thus thrown back upon his low-born associates, it was scarcely possible that James should not have used the counsels of men totally ignorant in political affairs, upon matters far above their sphere; or that they, with the presumption common to upstarts, should not readily interpose their advice on such subjects. The nation, therefore, with disgust and displeasure saw the king disuse the society of the Scottish nobles, and abstain from their counsel, to lavish favours upon and be guided by the advice of a few whom the age termed base mechanics.

In this situation, the public eye was fixed upon James's younger brothers, Alexander duke of Albany and John earl of Mar. These princes were remarkable for the royal qualities which the king did not possess. Being naturally drawn into comparison with their brother, and extolled above him by the public voice, James seems to have become jealous of them, even on account of their possessing the virtues or endowments which he himself was conscious of wanting. It is too consonant with the practice of courts to suppose that Mar and Albany were not quiescent under this dishonourable suspicion and jealousy. It is probable that they intrigued with the other discontented nobles; with what purpose, or to what extent, cannot now be ascertained. Mar was accused of having enquired of pretended witches concerning the term of the king's life; a suspicious subject of enquiry, considering it was made by so near a relation; and the progress of Albany's life shows him capable of unscrupulous ambition.

The king, on his part, resorted to diviners and sooth-sayers to know his own future fate; and the answer (probably dictated by the favourite Cochrane) was, that he should fall by the means of his nearest of kin. The unhappy monarch, with a self-contradiction, one of the many implied in superstition, imagined that his brothers were the relations indicated by the oracle; and also imagined that his knowledge of their intentions might enable him to alter the supposed doom of fate.

1478. Albany and Mar were suddenly arrested, as the king's suspicions grew darker and more dangerous; and while the duke was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, Mar was committed to that of Craigmillar. Conscious, probably, that the king possessed matter which might afford a pretext to take his life, Albany resolved on his escape. He communicated his scheme to a faithful attendant, by whose assistance he intoxicated, or, as some accounts say, murdered the captain of the guard, and then attempted to descend from the battlements of the castle by a rope. His attendant made the essay first; but the rope being too short, he fell, and broke his thigh-bone. The duke, warned by this accident, lengthened the rope with the sheets from his bed, and made the perilous descent in safety. He transported his faithful attendant on his back to a place of security, then was received on board a vessel which lay in the roads of Leith, and set sail for France, where he met a hospitable reception, and was maintained by the bounty of Louis XI.

1479. Enraged at the escape of the elder of his captives, it would seem that James was determined to make secure of Mar, who remained. There occur no records to show that the unfortunate prince was subjected to any public trial; nor can it be known, save by conjecture, how far James III. was accessory to the perpetration of his murder, which was said to be executed by bleeding the prisoner to death in a bath. Several persons were at the same time condemned and executed for acts of witchcraft, charged as having been practised, at Mar's instance, against the life of the king.

About this time war broke out between the two sister countries of Britain, after an interval of peace of unusual duration. The blame may have originally lain with England, who had violated the articles of the last treaty, in discontinuing the stipulated payment of the princess Cecilia's portion; but the incursions of the Scots gave the first signal for actual hostilities. Wise regulations were laid down by the Scottish parliament for garrisoning, with hired soldiers, Berwick, the Hermitage castle, and other fortresses on the border, the expense to be defrayed from the public revenue. If Edward IV., who is discourteously termed the *weifur* or robber, should invade Scotland, it was appointed that the king should take the field, and that the whole nobles and commons should live or die with him.

Edward IV., on his part, desirous to obtain an advantage similar to that which had been gained by Edward I. and Edward III., by means of the Baliol's claim to the Scottish throne, made proposals to the banished duke of Albany that he should set himself up as a competitor for his brother's throne. Whatever had been the specious virtue of Albany, it was of a kind easily seduced by temptation; and, like Baliol in similar circumstances, he hastened from France over to England, agreed to become king of Scotland under the patronage of Edward, consented to resign the long-disputed question of the independence of his country, promised the abandonment of Berwick and other places on the border, and undertook to restore to his estate the banished earl of Douglas, who was to be a party in the projected invasion. Under this agreement, which was, however, kept strictly secret, the celebrated duke of Gloucester, afterwards king Richard III., was detached to the Scottish wars at the head of a considerable army, and Albany accompanied him.

The Scottish king had in the mean time assembled his army, and set forward against the enemy. But there existed a spirit of disaffection among his nobility, which led to an unexpected explosion. Cochrane, the mason, the most able, or at least the most bold, of the king's

plebeian favourites, had made so much money by accepting of bribes and selling his interest in the king's favour, that he was able to purchase from his master James, who added avarice to the other vices of a groveling and degraded spirit, the earldom of Mar. It is an additional shade of meanness in James's character, that, when satisfied with the amount of the consideration to be paid, he never hesitated at conferring upon a low-born upstart the lordship which had belonged to his late murdered brother. Cochrane proceeded in his career. The insatiable extortioner amassed money by indirect means of every kind ; and one mode which particularly affected the poor was the debasement of the coin of the realm, by mixing the silver with so much copper as entirely to destroy its value. This adulterated coin was called the Cochrane-plack, and was so favourite a speculation of his, that, having been told it would be one day called in, he answered scornfully, " Yes, on the day I am hanged ;" an unwitting prophecy, which was punctually accomplished.

The rank and state affected by the new earl of Mar only more deeply incensed the nobility, who considered their order as disgraced by the introduction of such a person. A band of three hundred men constantly attended the favourite, armed with battle-axes, and displaying his livery of white with black fillets. He himself used to appear in a riding suit of black velvet, his horn mounted with gold, and hung around his neck by a chain of the same metal. In this manner he joined the Scottish host. The army had advanced from the capital as far as Lauder, when the nobility, beginning to feel sensible of their power in a camp consisting chiefly of their own soldiers and feudal followers, resolved that they would meet together, and consult what measures were to be taken for the reform of the abuses of the commonwealth, having already in vain represented their grievances to the king.

The armed conclave was held in Lauder church, where, in the course of their deliberations, Lord Gray reminded them of the fable in which the mice are said to have laid

a project for preventing the future ravages of the cat by tying a bell around her neck, which might make them aware of her approach. "An excellent proposal," said the orator, "but which fell unexpectedly to the ground, because none of the mice had courage enough to fasten the bell on the cat's neck." "I will bell the cat!" exclaimed Douglas earl of Angus; from which he was ever afterwards called by the homely appellation of Archibald Bell the Cat. It was agreed that the king's favourites should be seized and put to death, and the king himself should be placed under some gentle restraint, until he should give satisfactory assurance of a change of measures.

Just as this was determined on, Cochrane came to the council, and demanded admission. He was suffered to enter with some of his attendants, but was received with the scorn and indignation which were the natural preface of actual violence. Douglas of Lochleven, who kept the door, snatched from him the hunting-horn that hung round his neck. "Thou hast hunted mischief," he said, "over long." Angus seized the chain which held the bugle, saying, "A halter would suit him better." "Is it jest or earnest, my lords?" said the astonished favourite, surprised at his reception. "It is sorrowful earnest," they answered, "and that thou shalt presently feel." One or two, deemed the most grave of the nobles, undertook to acquaint the king with their purpose; while the others, seizing the minions who were the objects of their violence, caused them to be hanged over the bridge of Launder. Cochrane, when brought to the place of execution, showed how much a paltry love of show made part of his character. He made it his suit to be hanged in a silken cord, and offered to supply it from his own pavilion. This idle request only taught his stern auditors how to wound his feelings more deeply. "Thou shalt die," they said, "like a mean slave as thou art;" and applied to the purpose of his execution a halter of horse-hair, as the most degrading means of death which they could invent. This execution was done with excessive applause on the part

of the army. All the favourites of the weak prince perished, except a youth called Ramsay of Balmain, who clung close to the king's person: James begged his life with so much earnestness, that the peers relented, and granted their sovereign's boon.

The consequences of this enterprise are very puzzling to the historian. The Scottish nobility seem to have retired with the determination not to oppose the English host in arms, expecting, probably, that they would be able to settle some accommodation by means of the duke of Albany. They were as yet ignorant of the disgraceful treaty which he had made with England, and hoped to have the advantage of his talents as a regent to direct the weak councils of his brother James. In the meantime they subjected the king to a mitigated imprisonment in Edinburgh castle.

It would seem that Albany, perceiving the Scottish nobles totally indisposed to admit his claim to the kingdom, was willing enough to accept the proposal of becoming lieutenant-general. That he might do so with the better grace, Albany and the duke of Gloucester interceded with the Scottish lords for the liberation of the king. The nobles addressed the duke of Albany with much respect, and agreed to grant whatever he desired, acknowledging him to be, after James's children, the nearest of blood to the royal family. "But for that person who accompanies you," they continued, in allusion to the English prince, "we know nothing of him whatever, or by what right he presumes to talk to us upon our national affairs, and will pay no deference to his wishes, seeing he is entitled to none."

The English, however, gained one important advantage upon this occasion. The town of Berwick, which had been delivered up to the Scots by Henry VI., and possessed by them for nearly twenty years, was now taken by the troops of Richard of Gloucester, and the castle being also yielded, this strong fortress and valuable sea-port never afterwards returned to the domi-

nion of Scotland. In other respects the English sought no national advantage by the pacification.

James was in this manner restored to his liberty, and, either from fickleness of temper or profound dissimulation, appeared for a time to be so much attached to Albany, that he could not be separated from him for a moment. The concord of the royal brethren showed itself by some demonstrations which would seem strange at the present day. They rode together, on one occasion, mounted on the same horse, from the castle of Edinburgh, along the principal street, down to the abbey of Holyrood, to the great joy and delectation of all good subjects. Every night, also, the king and Albany partook the same bed.

But this fraternal concord, which must have had from the beginning its source in a degree of affectation, did not long continue; and the predominant disposition of each prince disconcerted their union. The ambition of Albany would have alarmed the fears of a less timorous or suspicious man than James. It appears too plainly that the duke resumed his treasonable practices with the court of England, and it would seem that his intrigues were discovered, and that the greater part of the Scottish nobles, incensed at his perfidy, joined in expelling him from the government. Doom of forfeiture was pronounced against Albany, and he fled to England, having first, as the last act of treachery in his power, delivered up his castle of Dunbar to an English garrison, and thus, in so far as in him lay, exposed the frontiers of which he was the warden. The next year witnessed the battle of Lochmaben, the event of a foray undertaken by Douglas and Albany into Annandale, in which Douglas was made prisoner, and Albany obliged to fly for his life. (See page 304.)

Richard III. had now begun his brief and precarious reign. A short negotiation speedily arranged a truce with Scotland, which might have had some endurance if the monarchs who made it had remained steady on their thrones. But James, when he felt himself uncontrolled

in his sovereignty, used it, as his inclinations determined him, in founding expensive establishments for the cultivation of music, and in the erection of chapels and palaces in a peculiar species of architecture, in which the Gothic style was mingled with an imitation of the Grecian orders. To meet the expense of these buildings and foundations, and to gratify his natural love of amassing treasure, James watched and availed himself of every opportunity by which he could collect money; nor did he hesitate to appropriate to these favourite purposes funds which the haughty nobles were disposed to consider as perquisites of their own. A particular instance of this nature hurried on James's catastrophe.

In order to maintain the expenses of a double choir in the royal chapel of Stirling, the king ventured to apply to that purpose the revenues of the priory of Coldingham. The two powerful families of Home and Hepburn had long accounted this wealthy abbey their own property, insomuch that they expected that the king would not have violated or interfered with a family compact, by which they had agreed that the prior of Coldingham should be alternately chosen from their respective names. The king's appropriation of the revenues which they had considered as destined to the advantage of their friends and clansmen disposed these haughty chiefs to seek revenge as men who were suffering oppression. The spirit of discontent spread fast among the southern barons, much influenced by the earl of Angus, a nobleman both hated and feared by the king, who could not be supposed to have forgotten the manner in which he had acquired his popular epithet of Bell-the-Cat. In the vain hope of controlling his discontented nobles, the king showed his fears more than his wisdom by prohibiting them to appear at court in arms, with the exception of Ramsay, whose life had been spared upon his entreaty at the execution of Lauderbridge. James had made this young man captain of his guard, and created him a peer, by the name of lord Bothwell, under which title the new favourite had succeeded.

if not to the whole power, at least to much of the unpopularity of Cochrane, whose fate he had so nearly shared. A league was now formed against James, which was daily increased by fresh adherents till it ended in a rebellion which could be compared to no similar insurrection in Scottish history save that of the Douglas in the preceding reign.

The fate of James III. was not yet determined, notwithstanding this powerful combination. He had on his side the northern barons, and was at least as powerful as his father had been at the siege of Abercorn. But he had not his father's courage, or the sage counsels of bishop Kennedy. His wife, Margaret of Denmark, who, in 1487, there is reason to think, had been a wise adviser as well as a most excellent spouse, died at a critical period for her husband. Thus destitute of wise counsel, the king was advised (probably by Ramsay) to arrest suddenly the nobles concerned in the conspiracy. Unfortunately for the issue of this scheme, the king was unwise enough to admit Angus to knowledge of his intentions. The earl instantly betrayed them to the malcontents, who, instead of attending the king's summons to court, withdrew to the southward, and raised their banners in open insurrection. James, unnerved by his fears, repaired to the more northern regions, in which the strength of his adherents lay, and by the assistance of Athole, Crawford, Lindsay of the Byres, Ruthven, and other powerful chiefs of the east and north, assembled a considerable army. The insurgent lords advanced to the southern shores of the Forth.

During some indecisive skirmishes, and equally indecisive negotiations, the associated nobles contrived to get into their hands the king's eldest son, by the treachery of Shaw of Sauchie, his governor. This gave a colour to their enterprise which was of itself almost decisive of success. They erected the royal standard of Scotland in opposition to its monarch, and boldly proclaimed that they were in arms in behalf of the youthful prince, whose unnatural father intended to put him to death,

and to sell the country to the English. These were exaggerated calumnies ; but it may be observed, that the populace are more easily imposed upon by falsehoods suited to the grossness of their intellects than by such arguments as are consonant to reason. The king stood so low in public estimation, on account of his love of money and his disposition to favouritism, that nothing could be invented respecting him so base that it would not find credence among his subjects.

The king retired upon Stirling ; but the faithless Shaw, who had betrayed the prince to the rebel lords, completed his treachery by refusing James access to the castle of that town. In a species of despair, the king turned southward, like a stag brought to bay, with the purpose of meeting his enemies in conflict. The battle took place not far from Falkirk, where Wallace was defeated, and yet nearer to the memorable field of Bannockburn, where Bruce triumphed. At the first encounter the archers of the king's army had some advantage. But the Annandale men, whose spears were of unusual length, charged, according to their custom, with loud yells, and bore down the left wing of the king's forces. James, who was already dispirited from seeing his own banner and his own son brought in arms against him, and who remembered the prophecy of the witch, that he should fall by his nearest of kin, on hearing the cries of the bordermen lost courage entirely, and turned his horse for flight. As he fled at a gallop through the hamlet of Milltown, his charger, a fiery animal, presented to him on that very morning by Lindesay of the Byres, took fright at the sight of a woman engaged in drawing water at a well, and threw to the ground his timid and inexperienced rider. The king was borne into the mill, where he was so incautious as to proclaim his name and quality. The consequence was, that some of the rebels who followed the chase entered the hut, and stabbed him to the heart. The persons of the murderers were never known, nor was the king's body ever found.

Thus fell a king, of whom, but for the dark suspicions

tion so anomalous. He was a stout old soldier, bred in the wars of France, and knew no better answer to make to the indictment than by offering to fight with his accusers, venturing his own person against any two of them. The lord chancellor apologised to the king for the veteran's rudeness, the natural consequence of a military education, and advised lord Lindesay to submit himself to the king's pleasure, who he ventured to say would be gracious to him. There stood near the lord Lindesay his younger brother Patrick, who understanding it was the wily meaning of the chancellor to obtain a submission on the part of his brother, that he might impose some mulct or penalty upon him, trode upon the lord Lindesay's foot, as an intimation to him not to plead guilty, or "come," as it was called, "into the king's will." The hint was totally lost on lord Lindesay, who was on bad terms with his brother, and happened besides to have a corn on his toe, which made him resent the treading on his foot as an injury as well as an insult, for which he fiercely rebuked his brother. But, without regard to his unreasonable anger, master Patrick knelt down, and prayed to be heard as counsel for his brother and the house of his forefathers. This could not decently be refused; and the pleader, in an exordium of some eloquence, implored those whom he addressed, that, as victors in the civil contest, they would be pleased to recollect, that they were still liable to the vicissitude of human affairs, and might themselves hereafter stand at that very bar, and implore the protection of the laws against such triumphant enemies as might happen to be in power for the time. He therefore conjured them to administer the laws impartially, as they would desire to enjoy their protection if they should need it in their own case. The chancellor assured Lindesay that his pleading should be fairly heard and decided upon. The advocate proceeded to object to the presence in court of the young king, in whose name the suit was brought, and to his retaining a seat in the judicature, in a case where he was one of the parties concerned. The parliament yielded to

rate action, had the misfortune to be himself taken, and carried into Dundee. The prisoners were restored by James IV., with a courteous message to Henry VII., now on the throne of England, assuring him that the Scots could fight by sea as well as land.

The deeply-politic views of Henry VII. were uniformly founded on a peaceful basis; and having re-established in all points the truce with Scotland, he endeavoured, by an union of the royal families, to convert that state of temporary tranquillity into a secure and lasting peace. This he proposed to effect by an union betwixt his daughter and the young Scottish king. Nor was he disgusted when he found that the prejudices of the Scots made them pause upon accepting his offer, fearful even of the most advantageous proposals when they came from the old enemies of Scotland.

Meantime years glided away in ease and tranquillity. The Scottish nobility displayed an unusual degree of concord amongst themselves; and James at once gratified his own taste and theirs by maintaining a court splendid beyond the means of Scotland, had not the royal coffers still contained a portion of the hoards of James III., now neither wasted in idle refinements of music and architecture, nor reserved to slumber in inactivity; but employed in expenses which served to connect the king with his nobles and with his people, by procuring pleasures which they could all enjoy. Unhappily, James IV. he intimated by his whole administration, had also an admiration of chivalry, which he carried to romantic excess. Nothing delighted him so much as jousts and tournaments, and trials of skill at all military weapons; and he sought personal adventures by traversing the country in disguise, and throwing himself into situations which have been recorded in the songs and traditions of the time.

It was probably by an appeal to this romantic cast in James's disposition that the Scottish king was prevailed on to take up the cause of Perkin Warbeck, the pre-

the duration of peace. An university, the second in the kingdom, that of Saint Andrew's being the first, had been erected at Glasgow in 1453, under the pious care of Turnbull, bishop of that see. A third seat of learning was now, in 1500, founded by Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen. Nor were the labours of these learned seminaries in vain: learning began to be understood, cultivated, and patronised. Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, made an excellent translation of Virgil's *Æneid*; and Dunbar, the Scottish Chaucer, appeared at court, with a power both of heroic and humorous poetry no way unworthy the bard of Woodstock. James IV., himself a poet, loved and encouraged the Muses; and from what remains of the strains of the day, it is obvious he permitted the satirists to take considerable freedoms with his own foibles, rather than their vein should be interrupted or their spirit checked by any severity of restriction. In a prince like James IV., such a licence shows an honest consciousness that his merits were sufficient to redeem his reputation, and that he could with safety soar above and neglect the petty artillery of the satirists.

The king had his father's taste for architecture, though not in its excess. He improved the palaces of Stirling and Falkland. Young and unmarried, he engaged too much in licentious pleasures. But his regard for the church was not diminished; and, after the fashion of the time, it was testified by the foundation of monasteries and other ecclesiastical establishments. James never lost a deep sense of remorse for the share which he had been caused to take in his father's defeat. He wore, by way of penance, an iron belt round his body, to which he added a certain weight every year which he lived. He also yearly dedicated part of Lent to strict retreat into some monastery, where rigid prayer, fasting, and acts of penance, were unsparingly employed to expiate the crime which afflicted the king's conscience. These dark intervals must have made a singular contrast with the busy course of James's ordinary life, which was spent in the active discharge of the administration of justice, and other kingly duties;

which she conjured James to risk but one day's march into England for her sake. At the same time, a more solid present of fourteen thousand crowns contributed something to remove the want of funds which otherwise might possibly have interfered with the projected expedition.

James's first step to gratify the queen of France was to despatch a naval force to that kingdom, from which the greater part of the fleet never returned, the consequences of the battle of Flodden having deprived the government of Scotland of the energy which ought to have been exerted for their preservation, so that the vessels rotted neglected in French harbours, or were sold at a low price to the French king.

James, however, meditated a more direct mode of assisting his ally and chastising Henry, whom he was now disposed to consider as an enemy rather than a brother-in-law. The Scottish monarch sent a herald to France, with a manifesto to be delivered to the English king, then preparing to lay siege to Tereuennec. In this species of defiance were recapitulated the capture of Barton, the murder of Kerr, the detention of a legacy bequeathed by Henry VII. to his daughter Margaret, with other grievances; and it concluded with summoning the king of England instantly to desist from the invasion of France on pain of seeing Scotland take arms in the cause of that kingdom. The English king, highly offended both at the matter of this remonstrance and the terms in which it was couched, returned an answer, in which he upbraided James with perjury, and even perjury, in having broken the perpetual peace which at his nuptials he had sworn to observe towards England; he treated with scorn Scotland's pretence of interfering in his quarrel with France, and concluded with retorting defiance.

In the meanwhile the war was already commenced. Lord Home, who held the dignity of high chamberlain of Scotland, entered England with a considerable force, burned several villages, and collected much prey. It was not, however, his destiny to carry his booty safe into Scotland. In marching heedlessly through the extensive flat north of Wooler, called Millfield-plain, the

James entered England with as gallant an army as Angus ever was led by a Scottish monarch; and the castle of 22.

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Etal and Ford were successively taken. In the latter fortress James made captive a lady, the wife of Heron of Ford, lord of the manor, who acquired so much influence over the amorous monarch as to detain him from the prosecution of his enterprise, while his army dwindled away, owing to the impatience of inaction in some, and diminished to thirty thousand men, when James was aroused from his amorous dalliance by the approach of the earl of Surrey at the head of a large force to defend the English frontiers. A herald brought a defiance to the monarch, in which the English lord stated that he was come to vindicate the death of Barton, and challenged the king of Scotland to combat. James's insane spirit of chivalry induced him to accept this romantic proposal, in spite of the remonstrances of his best counsellors, and, among others, of the old earl of Angus, called Bell-the-Cat. "If you are afraid, Angus," said the king coldly, in reply to his arguments, "you may go home." Angus would not abide in the camp after such an affront: he departed with tears of anger and sorrow, leaving his two sons and his followers with charge to stand by the king to the last.

It was on the 6th of September that James, removing from the western side of the river Till, took up his camp on the hill of Flodden, which closes in the northern extremity of Millfield-plain. In this advantageous ground he had the choice to fight or maintain the defensive at his pleasure. Surrey observed the advantages of the king's position, which, being very steep on the southern side, where the eminence sinks abruptly on the plain, was, in that quarter, inaccessible to an attack. Thus situated, the English commander, finding that provisions were scarce, and the country around wasted, determined by a decisive movement to lead his army round the flank of the Scottish king's position, and place himself on the north side of Flodden-hill; thus :

division, had it not been supported by lord Daeres with the reserve of English cavalry. Their support was so timely and effectual, that the Scots were kept at bay. The Highlanders, under Crawford and Montrose, rushed down the hill with disorderly haste, and were easily routed by the two Howards. Both the Scottish earls fell. During these conflicts the king's division engaged furiously with that of the earl of Surrey, and, although overwhelmed with showers of arrows, the Scots made a most valiant defence. The earl of Bothwell with the reserve, bravely supported them, and the combat became very sanguinary. In the meanwhile sir Edward Stanley, with the men of Cheshire and Derbyshire, forming the English left wing, totally dispersed their immediate opponents, the division under Lennox and Argyle. Both these earls fell, and Stanley, pressing onward over the ground they occupied, and wheeling to his own left, placed his division in the rear of king James's broken ranks; and by an attack in that direction, seconded the efforts of Surrey, who was engaged with the Scottish army in front. But these broken and bleeding battalions consisted of the pride and flower of the Scottish gentry, who, throwing themselves into a circle so as to resist on all points, defended themselves with honourable desperation. No one thought of abandoning the king, who, with useless valour, fought and struggled amidst the foremost in the conflict. Night at last separated the combatants; and the Scottish, like a wounded warrior, whom his courage sustains so long as the conflict lasts, but who faints with loss of blood when it is ended, became sensible of the extent of their loss, and melted in noiseless retreat from the field of battle in which the king and his nobles had perished.

There lay slain on the fatal field of Flodden twelve Scottish earls, thirteen lords, and five eldest sons of peers — fifty chiefs, knights, and men of eminence, and about ten thousand common men. Scotland had sustained defeats in which the loss had been numerically greater, but never one in which the number of the nobles slain bore such a proportion to those of the inferior rank.

other in the light of natural enemies. In such a contest it would be idle to enquire whether either nation possessed over the other any superiority in strength of person or bravery of disposition ; advantages which nature distributes with impartiality among the children of the same soil. Different degrees of discipline, different species of arms, different habits of exercise, may be distinctly traced as the foundation of advantages occasionally observable either in the victories of the English over the Scots, or in those obtained by the inhabitants of the northern parts of the island over their southern neighbours.

The superiority of the English arose from two principal circumstances : first, the better discipline and conduct of their armies, which at an early period manœuvred with considerable art and address, for which we shall presently show some reason : and, secondly, on their unrivalled skill in the use of the long bow, the most formidable weapon of the age, which neither Scot, Frenchman, Fleming, nor Spaniard could use with the same effect as the yeomen of England. These men possessed a degree of independence and wealth altogether unknown to the same class of society in other kingdoms of Europe. They placed their pride in having the most excellent and best-constructed bows and shafts, to the formation of which great attention and nicety were necessary ; and they had attained the art of handling and using them with the greatest possible effect. Their wealth enabled them to procure weapons of the first order, and their mode of education brought the use of them to the highest pitch of perfection. Bishop Latimer says of himself that, like other children, he was trained to shoot first with a small bow suitable to his age, and afterwards with one fitted to his increasing strength ; and that consequently he acquired a degree of skill which far surpassed that of those who never handled a bow till they came to be young men. Neither was the shape of the weapon less fitted for its purpose. The bow was of considerable length and power, and the arrow, constructed with a small head of sharp steel, was formed so as to fly a great distance and with much force. On the contrary, the Highlanders were

these troops were placed under the command of a general of approved abilities, who received his orders from the king and council, presenting thus the absolute authority which is requisite to direct the movements of an army.

Besides this peculiar advantage of hiring regular troops, the wealth of England enabled her chivalry to come to the field in full panoply, mounted on horses fit for service, and composed of men at arms certainly not inferior to any which Europe could boast. She had also at command money, stores, provisions, ammunition, artillery, and all that is necessary to enable an army to take and to keep the field.

The Scottish armies, on the other hand, were composed of the ordinary inhabitants of the country, who, unless they chanced to have a few French men at arms, were destitute of any force approaching to regular soldiers. Their own men at arms were few and ill-appointed; and though they had in their armies numerous troops of hardy horses, they were too light for the actual battle. They always fought on foot, a circumstance which exposed their broad masses of spearmen still more to devastation by the English archers, who could remain at a distance and pour on them their fatal shot without encountering the brunt of their pikes. Their hosts were, indeed, nominally under command of one general; but wanted all that united force and energy acquired by a large body acting with a common purpose and under the authority of a single individual. On the contrary, they rather consisted of a number of little armies under separate chiefs, unknown to or perhaps at variance with each other, and acknowledging no common head save the king, who was not always fit to command in person, and to whom implicit obedience was not always rendered. These great advantages of superior address in the missiles of the period, and in superior wealth for the formation and support of armies, were particularly observable in general battles upon a large scale; which the Scots, in their impatience and poverty of means to keep the field, hazarded far more frequently than was politic, and received a succession of dr

his avaricious landlord. Numerous laws were made for repressing these evils, but in vain; the judges seldom had power, and often wanted will, to enforce them. The Scottish parliament saw the disease, and prescribed the remedy; but the difficulty lay in enforcing it.

In literature the Scots made a more equal competition with their neighbours than in other particulars. They used the same language with the English, though time had introduced a broader pronunciation.*

The Scottish parliament were so much impressed with the necessity of education, that in 1494 they passed a remarkable edict, by which each baron and substantial freeholder was enjoined, under the penalty of twenty pounds, to send his eldest son to the grammar school at six, or, at the utmost, nine years of age. Having been competently grounded in Latin, the pupils were directed to study three years in the schools of philosophy and law, to qualify themselves for occupying the situation of sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other judges in ordinary.

That this singular statute had considerable influence we cannot doubt; yet the historian Mair or Major, still continued to upbraid the nobility of his time with gross neglect of their children's education. But though a majority may have contemned literature and its pursuits, in comparison with the sports of the field or the exercises of war, there were so many who availed themselves of the opportunities of education as to leave a splendid proof of their proficiency. Dunbar, the Chaucer of Scotland, has, in his Lament for the Death of the Makers, enumerated eighteen poets, of eminence in their time, who flourished from the earlier half of the fifteenth century down to the reign of James V. Many of their poems which have been preserved attest the skill and taste of the authors; but the genius of Dunbar and Gawain Douglas alone is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance. In Latin composition, the names

* Gawain Douglas professes to write his language broad and plain, "keeping no southern but his own language," and makes an apology for using some words after the English pronunciation, which he would willingly have written purely and exclusively Scottish.

